

JPRS-UPS-87-035

11 MAY 1987

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

### SPECIAL NOTICE

Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

The new cover colors will be as follows:

CHINA.....	aqua
EAST EUROPE.....	gold
SOVIET UNION.....	salmon
EAST ASIA.....	yellow
NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA...	blue
LATIN AMERICA.....	pink
WEST EUROPE.....	ivory
AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA).....	tan
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY.....	gray
WORLDWIDES.....	pewter

The changes that are of interest to readers of this report are as follows:

USSR reports will become SOVIET UNION reports.

The USSR REPORT: NATIONAL ECONOMY will be titled SOVIET UNION/ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (UEA).

The USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS will be titled SOVIET UNION/POLITICAL AFFAIRS (UPA).

The following Soviet journals will be added to those which are already issued in separate series:

- EKO: ECONOMICS & ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (UEO)
- THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (UWC)
- PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA (UAA)
- MILITARY HISTORY JOURNAL (UMJ)
- FOREIGN MILITARY REVIEW (UFM)
- AVIATION & COSMONAUTICS (UAC)
- SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES (USS)

If any subscription changes are desired, U.S. Government subscribers should notify their distribution contact point. Nongovernment subscribers should contact the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161.

## NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

11 MAY 1987

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

Kazakhstan CP Discusses Shortcomings in Food Supply (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 Feb 87).....	1
Kazakh VUZ Abuses Result in Disciplinary Actions (S. Kubashev; IZVESTIYA, 12 Mar 87).....	4
Moscow TV Reports Kazakhstan Komsomol Congress (Vladimir Mukusev; Moscow Television Service, 2 Apr 87).....	8
Tajik Obkom Chief Discusses Economic Concerns (SADOI SHARQ, No 8, 1986).....	17
Uzbek CP CC Buro Rebukes Officials for Poor Economic Work (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 10 Apr 87).....	18
UzSSR Obkom Progress in Restructuring Cadre Policy Detailed (Kh. Akhmedova; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, 5 Mar 87).....	22

#### MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

Viewer Poll Criticizes Quality, Notes Growing Role of Central TV (Vl. Arsenyev; IZVESTIYA, 28 Feb 87).....	29
Statistics, Future Plans for Domestic Video Industry Discussed (A. Lipkov; IZVESTIYA, 31 Dec 86).....	34



Party Propaganda Efforts Faulted in Tajikistan (KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON, No 10, 1986).....	38
HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY	
Lessons of First Five-Year Plan Recounted (V. A. Kozlov, O. V. Khlevnyuk; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1, Jan 87).....	39
Islamic Socialism Criticized in Tajikistan (T. Mamadnazarbekov; KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON, No 10, 1986).....	56
Tajiks' Conversion to Islam Criticized in Story (A. Istad; ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT, 25 Sep 86).....	56
Tajik Cultural-Ethnic History, Unity Considered (Sadridin Ayni; SADOI SHARQ, No 8, 1986).....	58
RELIGION	
Arrested Mullah Preached Formation of Islamic State in Tajikistan (Aziz Sanginov; TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 14 Feb 87).....	60
Mullah Criticized in Tajikistan (N. Dadoboyev; ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT, 18 Sep 86).....	62
Improved Services, Health Care Needed To Propagate Atheism (R. Majidov; KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON, No 9, 1986).....	62
Sufi Humanism Praised in Tajikistan (Muhammadqul Hazratqulov; SADOI SHARQ, No 8, 1986).....	63
Atheist Training in Tajik City (F. Rajabova; TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 23 Sep 86).....	63
CULTURE	
Rozhdestvenskiy Reviews Film 'Repentance' (Robert Rozhdestvenskiy; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 21 Jan 87).....	65
Estonians Had Own 'Repentance' Film in 1968 (Aigar Vahemetsa; RAHVA HAAL, 5 Apr 87).....	69
Cinema Union Official on Impressions of PRC Visit (I. Lisakovskiy Interview; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 7 Apr 87).....	70

Movie Industry Leaders Answer Readers' Questions (A. I. Kamsharov, E. G. Klimov; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 2 Apr 87).....	71
Unexpected Success of Experimental Theater Recounted (Mark Vayl; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 21 Jan 87).....	72
Minister of Culture Discusses Problems With Theater (Fyodor Lastochkin; MOSCOW NEWS, No 12, 12 Apr 87).....	77
Workings of Planned Art Auction Described (Mikhail Rogozhnikov; MOSCOW NEWS, No 11, 15 Mar 87)...	79
Kazakh Literary Journal Criticized (Basyt Sarbalayev; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 7 Feb 87)...	80
Kazakh Writers Union Reviews Literary Journals (QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, 30 Jan 87).....	80
Restorers Fix Current Buildings, Ignore Historical Sites (Viktor Loshak, Alexander Mostovshchikov; MOSCOW NEWS, No 12, 12 Apr 87).....	82
Historic Preservation in Tajikistan (Shodimurod Aloviddinov, Zafar Dustov; TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 19 Sep 86).....	84
Language Problems in Tajik Textbooks (A. Amirboyev; TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 11 Sep 86).....	84
Library Problems in Tajikistan (TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 13 Sep 86).....	85
SOCIAL ISSUES	
PRAVDA Interviews Prosecutor General Rekunkov (A. M. Rekunkov Interview; PRAVDA, 25 Mar 87).....	86
Moscow Police Accused of Beating Innocent Suspect (P. Shipilin; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 4 Mar 87).....	93
Reader Wonders If Drug Addiction 'Only Youth Problem' (N. Safarov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 4 Feb 87).....	97
Novgorod Ispolkom Conducts Telephone Poll on Own Work (V. Troyanovskiy; IZVESTIYA, 16 Feb 87).....	98
Traditional Influences on Women in Tajikistan (Kh. Otakhonova; ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT, 4 Sep 86).....	100

Bride Price Criticized in Tajikistan (N. Yodgori; ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT, 4 Sep 86).....	100
Medical Education Problems in Tajikistan (Yu. Ishoqi; ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT, 21 Aug 86).....	101
Tajikistan People's Universities Described (F. Buriyev, Q. Shukurov, TOJIKISTONI SOVETI, 16 Aug 86)	102
TaSSR: Increasing Labor Supply Requires Creation of New Jobs (N. Qayumov; KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON, No 10, 1986).....	103

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Strict Environmental Protection of Lake Baykal Urged (Oleg Usev; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 13 Feb 87).....	104
---	-----

/12223

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### KAZAKHSTAN CP DISCUSSES SHORTCOMINGS IN FOOD SUPPLY

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the KaSSR CP Central Committee: "Internal Reserves Could Have Been Used"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the working group acting under the Central Committee for efficiently solving the tasks of improving food supply to the republic's population took place on February 7, chaired by the First Secretary of the KaSSR CP, G. V. Kolbin. The members heard an accounting by a representative of the Karagandinskiy oblispolkom, Z. Inkabayev, of the organization of trade in foodstuffs in the oblast.

It was noted that recently food supply in this largest industrial region of Kazakhstan has improved. This is particularly evident in the numerous letters from workers to central and republic organs in which they express approval for the decision made by the party and the government to use production in excess of the plan to satisfy the needs of the local populace. The oblast party committee and the oblispolkom of the Soviet of Peoples' Deputies were able to use their assigned authority to actively participate in the restructuring of their work in accordance with new conditions.

A specific program was set up in the oblast to increase production of foodstuff from internal reserves. This year there are plans for 78 thousand tons of meat, which will amount to 68 kilograms for each inhabitant. Calculations show that this is entirely possible.

Milk production has increased by up to 287 tons. This will allow taking steps to improve its marketability, and increase purchases in the private sector, and increase subsidiary farming for industrial enterprises. Now already the demand of the Karaganda populace for fluid milk, kefir, sour cream, and cottage cheese is being satisfied completely.

The matter of providing potatoes to the populace has been solved. Things are a little worse with storing vegetables and fruits. In order to alleviate this situation, the intent is to build supplementary vegetable storage facilities this year. Their overall capacity will be not less than 34 thousand tons.



Along with this, it was shown at the meeting that there are still plenty of reserves in the oblast. But there is still quite insufficient use made of them. Thus, so far there are renewed complaints from workers about interruptions in the butter supply. The problem is that oblast and agricultural production managers are not paying sufficient attention to matters of increasing the dairy herd and milk yields. As a result every day the shortfall in milk production amounts to 60 tons. That is the exact amount which is demanded for producing butter in the required amounts. In this connection a specific task has been assigned -- to increase the number of milk cows to 100 thousand, and the level of milk yield is to be increased no less than by 200 kilograms [for an unstated time period, presumably a year]. These steps will allow us to solve the problem of production and supply of butter to the populace.

Construction of cattle-breeding complexes is going slowly. The powerful forces of industrial and construction organization of Karaganda are as yet poorly utilized in this important matter. From year to year they are not making use of those resources which are set aside for development of fish farms.

There is insufficient increase in the productivity of the largest pig farms and chicken farms in the republic. And it is just here that it is easiest to obtain production in excess of the plan to satisfy the demand of the populace.

There is poor utilization of the Ulyanovskiy experiment in construction of vegetable storage facilities right on the site where the vegetables and fruits are grown. The managers in the oblast have been told to get to work building storage facilities of five thousand ton capacity in the southern parts of the republic.

Little attention is being paid to technical equipping of processing businesses. For example, two years ago a decision was made concerning construction in the city of Karaganda of a poultry processing shop with the installation of an imported poultry processing line with a 15 ton per shift capacity. However, due to the inertia of the builders and the lack of pressure from the oblast managers, the intended plan was not completed. At the same time the capacities which are available for processing poultry are significantly overloaded, and meat production has decreased from last year's level.

It is essential to decisively correct the shortcomings noted and to completely and logically use internal reserves. For once and for all we must avoid parasitic attitudes and vain longings that the Food Program can be met by deliveries from outside [the republic]. The sole and true path to satisfying demand is our own resources which, as experience has shown, are entirely sufficient. And if in individual oblasts in the republic the tempo of improvement in food supply is uneven, then the main reason for this unevenness is in the capability of the managers of the oblast -- the first secretary of the oblast party committee, and the chairman of the oblispolkom should tend to business. The Central Committee of the KaSSR CP will use this matter to evaluate the work involved toward satisfying the demand of the populace for food.



The Karagandinskiy oblispolkom jointly with the Kazpotrebsoyuz [the Kazakhstan Union of Consumers' Societies] has been tasked to find the capacity to decrease the commission prices for meat, as is realized by the enterprises of the consumers' cooperatives in the oblast.

Also considered at the meeting was a proposal concerning a sharp increase of cold storage facilities in the republic. The capacities planned before now have been recognized as insufficient, since they do not provide for the existing needs for storage of foodstuff. Particularly unsatisfactorily equipped with cold storage facilities are the enterprises of the Kazpotrebsoyuz and the KaSSR Republic production and sales association for fish processing and sales of fish production. For example, in the Kazakhrybpromsbyt [the Kazakh Association for the Production and Sales of Fish] complex, the cold storage facilities amount to only 24 percent of those required. A similar figure for Kazpotrebsoyuz is 50 percent. The managers of these authorities have been ordered to correct this situation.

M.T. Tairov, the Chief of Kazakhrybpromsbyt, was issued a severe warning about passivity in work and weak management of the association.

9016

CSO: 1830/365

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### KAZAKH VUZ ABUSES RESULT IN DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS

PM161033 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by S. Kubashev, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, under the rubric "Following an IZVESTIYA Item": "Retribution for Favoritism"]

[Text] The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro, having discussed the article "The Web" (IZVESTIYA No 24, 1987), notes that it contained justified criticism of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and local party organs. In actual fact, when the article "Protection" (IZVESTIYA No 250, 1986) was examined, the situation at the Semipalatinsk Meat and Dairy Industry Technological Institute and the actions of its dean, O. Rakhyzhanov, were treated as an isolated occurrence, and no principled assessment was made of the state of affairs in other VUZ's.

Meanwhile, favoritism and nepotism, with the ensuing mutual protection, bribery, and other abuses, had spread through the republic's higher education system. This became possible because an atmosphere of total license was created in the republic for a certain influential group of persons closely linked by family, hometown, and "business" ties. These mainly unintellectual people with a money-grubbing attitude toward life who had occupied key positions under the former leadership strove to implant people from their circle everywhere, including in VUZ's, often disregarding public opinion. By no means were all collective members firm enough to withstand the pressure exerted by this force, which relied on unlimited support.

Alma-Ata VUZ's fell within the sphere of a particularly strong influence from such negative phenomena.

At Kazakh State University, for example, as a result of breaches of the principles of cadres selection and placement, the Faculty of Journalism found itself with quite a few lecturers who had no relevant education, had lost their skills in press work, and had poor professional, ideological, political, and moral standards. Special patronage from former Rector U.A. Dzholdasbekov was enjoyed by Faculty Dean T. Kozhakeyev (now expelled from the party by the university's primary party organization and removed from lecturing work), who created in the collective an atmosphere of hostility, mistrust, mutual surveillance, and

rumor mongering. Another person close to the rector--Professor S. Dozymbekov, former dean of the part-time and evening study department--enjoyed great favors in the Faculty of Law. He was expelled from the party for unseemly deeds at a recent faculty party meeting. U.A. Dzholdasbekov created a nonexistent department in the Faculty of Journalism, which was subsequently closed down, for Professor M. Argynbayev, who was found guilty of immoral behavior and dismissed from the position of director of the Institute for Enhanced Qualifications.

The Alma-Ata Institute of the National Economy has 35 employees who are closely related. During the period when N.K. Mamyrov was rector, the VUZ employed his wife's relative N. Serikbayeva and his sister-in-law S.G. Satbayeva, and some of his other relatives also worked there. Disregarding the interests of the cause, S.M. Baybolov, rector of the Alma-Ata Architecture and Construction Institute, employed the sister-in-law and the son of A. Koychumanov, former first secretary of the Alma-Ata Party Gorkom.

Questions of the training of scientific and teaching cadres were also frequently resolved on the basis of family ties. Children and relatives of Docents A.Kh. Khasenov, Sh.K. Bekturganov, and N.B. Balabasov and rector R.S. Amirov's sister-in-law S.B. Zhakpakynova pursued postgraduate studies at the Alma-Ata Foreign Language Teachers Training Institute. Subsequently, almost all of them obtained work at that VUZ. The question of admitting the daughter of A.T. Makhmutov, former party obkom section chief, to postgraduate studies at the Alma-Ata Institute of the National Economy, was submitted for discussion by the scientific council even without an application by her. N. Serikbayeva was enrolled as a postgraduate student in the part-time study department even though her rating as a specialist was negative. I.G. Isayeva, daughter of Institute Prorector G.P. Konovalov, was admitted to postgraduate studies on the basis of a certification document signed by her own father.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education failed to take effective measures to eradicate instances of favoritism, essentially playing the part of a passive observer of the negative phenomena, and the result was that a complex moral-psychological situation developed within the collectives of numerous VUZ's. Due to slack monitoring by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the republican higher education schools found themselves at times polluted for bribery, extortion, and corruption.

There was no monitoring in the republic to regulate the representation of different social and national groups of the population in VUZ training. This lack of monitoring was exploited by enterprising individuals for their own selfish purposes. There were violations of the principles of fairness in young people's admission to VUZ's. Instead of an objective assessment of university entrants' knowledge, the decisive role was played by acquaintance-ship, family ties, and favoritism.

Gross distortions in the national structure of the student body and the representation of the republic's various regions therein were a reflection of these trends in actions by leaders of many Alma-Ata VUZ's.

The politically erroneous and biased approach to the formation of the student body had a negative effect on young people's ideological, political, moral, and international education.

K.N. Naribayev, minister of higher and secondary specialized education, failed to provide the necessary standard of leadership in higher education, made no use of the levers of authority to combat negative trends, displayed unprincipledness and indecisiveness, and thus became an accomplice to negative processes. Even when the situation in the republic changed sharply, K.N. Naribayev failed to take decisive measures to improve the atmosphere in VUZ's, as the public expected, and as a result the situation in these education establishments did not change for the better. K.N. Naribayev admitted at a session of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro that he had lost the moral right to remain in office. The Central Committee Buro granted his request for a transfer to rank-and-file work.

Rectors R.S. Amirov, S.M. Baybolov, and N.K. Mamirov have been removed from VUZ leadership for having allowed the occurrence of serious shortcomings in work, instances of favoritism, and other negative phenomena. In line with VUZ party committee resolutions, CPSU member N.K. Mamirov has been severely reprimanded and has had his service record endorsed, while CPSU member S.M. Baybolov has been severely reprimanded. S.T. Temirbekov, former chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Science and Education Establishments Section, has been severely reprimanded and has had his service record endorsed. He has been removed from office as deputy director of the Kazakh State University Institute for Enhanced Qualifications. The matter of U.A. Dzholdasbekov's responsibility along party lines will be examined by the next plenum of the Alma-Ata Party Gorkom, of which he is a member, while the cases of R.S. Amirov and T.K. Katayev, former minister of higher and secondary specialized education, will be examined in the very near future by the appropriate primary party organizations. O. Rakhyzhanov, who has been dismissed and expelled from the party, now works as senior foreman at the city's dairy plant.

On the whole, it is still premature to say that the situation in VUZ's is back to normal. Purposeful work is being done in the republic under the leadership of party organs to form stable collectives within the higher education system. A seminar of rectors and VUZ party organization secretaries has been held on questions of restructuring in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions.

The question now is to inculcate in young men and women an inner need to begin their working career at the work place and to organize a new admission system for VUZ students, mainly from among people who have work experience. It is they who produce the most mature and most serious specialists and ideologically tempered cadres capable of resisting views that are alien to our society. Measures are being taken to ensure a fair representation of all strata of Kazakhstan's population, nations, ethnic groups, and regions in VUZ admissions.

Taking into account the analysis of the causes of past mistakes and errors in ideological work, especially among young people, of distortions which occurred in cadre policy, of other breaches of the norms of party life, and of the lessons learned from the December events in Alma-Ata, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee has elaborated and is implementing a specific program to intensify patriotic and international education, fundamentally improve the political situation, and profoundly restructure all aspects of social life in the republic.

/8309

CSO: 1830/429



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### MOSCOW TV REPORTS KAZAKHSTAN KOMSOMOL CONGRESS

LD040000 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1420 GMT on 2 April 1987 carries a 45-minute program conducted by journalist Vladimir Mukusev, entitled "A Questing Character," about the recent Kazakhstan Komsomol congress. The program carries clips of the congress and interviews with Komsomol members in their hotels and places of work.

The program begins by showing the opening of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Congress by Sergazy Kondybayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol. Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, is seen sitting in the Presidium. Next is shown a large complex of buildings, captioned: Kazakh State University. A meeting of young people is shown and a female holding a microphone asks who the delegates to the republican Komsomol congress are, and requests their full names. When a voice in the background gives a name, she notes that he is the leader, and asks who elected him. She adds that he is just the formal leader.

The scene shifts to a meeting at the workers' hostel of the Alma-Ata cotton combine. A young female says: "The delegates were selected just from their entries on a form giving their date of birth, regardless of whether he is a Kazakh or a Russian, with higher education or without. The person advanced on just this data on a form. Undoubtedly, we have no complaints against these delegates. But the point is that here at our finishing factory we have a worker called Titorenko who, I think, was a delegate at the 20th congress."

A young worker at the 40th anniversary of Kazakhstan collective farm says in an interview: "Not everyone has the gifts to be a leader, or the character." Mukusev then asks: "Was it your leader who represented you at the congress?" The young worker replies: "He was the leader as far as work is concerned."

In an interview at the Alma-Ata heavy machine building works, a young worker says: "Among Komsomol members there are also some better and some worse. We all know that. Kolya is one of the better ones." Another worker adds: "In general, they would select one of their comrades."

Over scenes of congress delegates having their portraits sketched, Mukusev says: "How did it happen? Those who assembled in the Alma-Ata Lenin Palace for the congress of the Kazakhstan Komsomol were the best representatives of the republic's young people, the best without any quotation marks. Heroes of Labor and deputies, shock workers of the 5-year plan and holders of battle orders. Why then, in the factory hostel, at the VUZ, and at the works, is it not stated clearly and precisely that these are our delegates--ours? Formalism in the Komsomol elections. This theme was one of the main ones at the congress."

The address by Aleksandr Zverev, a bulldozer operator from Karaganda, at the congress is then shown. He says: "A meeting is called. Higher ranking organs arrive--I mean Komsomol officials. Here is a good man, he will come here. We propose him as your secretary. Who is for, who is against? Everyone votes in favor because it is awkward to raise one's hand against someone, especially as no one knows him. These ranks exist now and he has come up through the ranks. He is suitable; he will be secretary. He must be someone with higher education and a party member. Comrades, not every party member has the necessary spark that appeals to young people, to be able to inspire them."

A rayon Komsomol secretary says that having party members among the Komsomol secretaries is a good thing, but good leaders should be chosen and prepared for party membership and it should not be a purely quantitative question as it is now.

Mukusev then interviews a delegate who is having her portrait sketched and asks: "What does it mean, the image of a delegate of the 16th Komsomol Congress? What sort of person is this?" The delegate replies: "This is a person who works in the Komsomol."

Vladimir Kolomytsyn, first secretary of Dzhezkazgan Oblast Komsomol Committee, is then shown addressing the congress. He says: "A few words about our youth newspaper. Lately they have begun reacting more acutely to shortcomings, and polemical material does appear. But we think the discussion that goes on at plenums of the Central Committee is not full enough. As a rule, the newspapers print only the report by the first secretary. The speeches made during the debates, which contain many individual proposals and sometimes criticism, remain known only to the narrow circle of members of the plenum. It turns out that the mass of readers are offered only half the material, and only the positions and views of the higher-ranking organ are covered. If one is to be totally frank, then Central Committee officials should not fear the criticism made of them; they should not suppress and hide it. In this field we should follow the example the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, which, after the Fifth Plenum called many things by their real names."

Next a female member of the congress presidium is shown speaking. She says: "Comrades, the proposal has been made to ask your opinion about something."

During the interval and before it, we received notes asking for microphones in the hall. Let us return to that question. We would like to ask your opinion. But first I would like to remind you that we discussed this question yesterday with a delegation of your representatives, with the first secretaries of the oblast Komsomol committees. And we came to the joint opinion that we have the rostrum, and it is free for the whole period of the congress. There is no problem for anyone wishing to speak. Do we agree with this decision?" Several delegates in the hall are shown asleep. There is no response to the speaker's question and she immediately continues: "Right, we are agreed."

A delegate is then shown reading a newspaper during a speech. Mukusev says: "At the congress, we saw many people holding copies of the republican youth newspaper LENINSKAYA SMENA, which contained an article entitled "Lads"; and another entitled: "Again About Lads." Many delegates in their speeches touched on the theme raised in these articles. We met the author of these articles." Next an interview with journalist Yevgeniyz Dotsuk is shown. Dotsuk says: "We prepared this material a long time ago--about a year ago--but for some reason it was not published then. The expression has been in existence for at least 25 years. I knew about it, but never paid any attention to it. But now when we have it in such an acute and ugly form, when juvenile crime is increasing in the city, they are called gangs of lads. They are informal associations of your boys that are now taking on a sort of criminal hue. The kinds take drugs, fight, and have their own laws; generally these laws come, I think, from the penal zones, and these boys' leaders are people who have spent time isolated from society. Why do the militia not pay very much attention to this? It may be because it is simpler not to know; there is less work this way. I cannot explain it."

Next is shown an interview with Viktor Shklyar, deputy chief of the Political Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kazakhstan, who says: "You could have any subjective opinion. I could start following press assessments and say: Why does the press cover these questions the wrong way or some other way? This is a subjective opinion, you must agree. On the whole, it is very easy for LENINSKAYA SMENA to use the term 'gang' for an informal group of adolescents. What amazes and shocks me is that before discussing something, one must define one's terms. What is a gang? A gang is a long-term group of criminals that possesses firearms, that has committed a number of crimes, and so on. And when adolescents defiantly give themselves various names, are we to accept these terms? It would not do."

Dotsuk is then shown, and says: "Today is the third day in the trial involving a case of a very severe and cynical beating of a boy. I was at the trial yesterday, and I say that the case and the work of the lawyer were presented in such a way that once again they are not trying to regard these fights as a manifestation or as a system."

An interview with a person who keeps his back to the camera is then shown. The interviewee says: "I think, and this is my personal opinion, that there is a centralized supply of things, music and drugs, to the city. These people who sell their goods receive their money precisely through these local groups of young people. It would be thoughtless, of course, to deny that the young people in these gangs took part in the events that occurred here not long ago. But they can adopt any slogans. They do not have their own slogans. It is a pure vacuum, and it can be filled by any slogans." Mukusev asks what can be done, adding: "You were able to get out of it, weren't you?" The interviewee says: "Yes, I was, but many of my friends could not, and for some of them it ended tragically. One of them was killed. One of them ruined his life irrevocably. He has spent long terms in punishment sites. But what can be done? I think that repressive measures will not help here. What is needed is attention to them, the greatest attention, sincere participation. Nothing else will help. I would like to make another proposal. If, in the end, serious attention is given to those people by respectable adults who make use of these adolescents for their own purposes, very many can be saved."

The scene then shifts to the congress, where Nurseit Bespayev, first secretary of the Alma-Ata Oblast Komsomol Committee, is shown speaking: "Paying too much attention to material things, and striving to take more than you give to society, has led to the formation of so-called microsocities among young people. Phenomena have appeared which are correctly called negative phenomena among a certain section of young people. It is time to call things by their correct names: drunkenness, hooliganism, speculation, parasitism, prostitution, and drug addiction. These shortcomings in education work did not arise just today, and they are characteristic not just of our oblast organization, but of the republic as a whole. But the Komsomol Central Committee is still standing back from this problem of combating drug addiction. Clearly the Komsomol Central Committee, together with the ministries and departments concerned--the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Internal Affairs--should draw up an integrated special-purpose program to combat these ugly phenomena among young people."

Another congress speaker, Sergey Lapshin, first secretary of the Aktyubinsk Oblast Komsomol Committee, then says: "We have forgotten Lenin's behest that all free time should be used for useful labor. We have gone so far as to use all free time for organizing leisure and distractions, and by this approach we have brought up a considerable number of young people to have a mocking and consumerist psychology. Now we are trying to get out of this rut. There are sufficient examples. But they are called examples because they have not become the norm. There has been a visible breakdown in organizing work for pupils, but it should have a firm legal and material basis which is, unfortunately, totally contradicted by life because of the shortage of working places for pupils. One can name dozens of schools that have no production practice. In order to find work places for schoolchildren one has to beg managers on bended knee. In our oblast, only one in seven pupils in 9th and 10th grade can work. For each pupil's



production team, there is only half a tractor, one-fifth of a combine, one-tenth of a truck. Colossal prospects are now being opened up for the Komsomol for drawing young people into labor in connection with the adoption of the law of individual labor activity and the development of cooperatives. Every young people's hostel should become a production co-operative and every pupil should become a producer of consumer goods of services, not just voluntarily but compulsorily." [applause]

A member of the Congress presidium is then shown; he says: "Comrades, notes are being handed to the presidium asking why there are no free microphones and whether there will be a free microphone, and so on. But is our rostrum not free? Please put your names down to speak and you will be given the floor."

The camera shows the foyer of the congress where Mukusev is shown talking to a group of young scientists. Aristotel Isagulov, chairman of the Karaganda Council of Young Scientists, says: "I am very happy that we persistently tried to have a talk with you because we were not given any attention at the congress and we wanted to divulge our problems. We have very many problems but as there was little time here we were unable to say everything here that bothers us." Mukusev then says: "In one of the speeches it was said that there were even academicians who were unable to write who was in charge of Kazakh science. Is that really so?" Another of the group, Abay Kaymamakov, chairman of the republican Council of Young Scientists, replies: "No, that is an exaggeration, of course. We have no such academicians. We have 100 percent literacy in our republic, (?so a sociologist could not find any). But there were, of course, academicians who were out of place." Another member of the group, Baurzhan Balmaydayev, chairman of the Alma-Ata Council of Young Scientists, adds: "They were pseudo-academicians who did not let young people progress. These people had somehow, by having powerful protectors and by family connections, got to be academicians. It is no secret. And as a result of the activity of the party Central Committee, recently the whole leadership of the Academy of Sciences was changed."

Abay Kaymamakov continued: "Everyone expressed indignation at this in the corridors, as they say. Everyone knew this very well. But to say it openly, in the first place, we were not allowed at Komsomol congresses. If I managed to speak at the end of the congress, this took great effort. I approached all the chairmen several times, and all the secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee, asking to be allowed to speak; because in the 20 years that Councils of Young Scientists and specialists have existed, science has never had its say at the congresses. This speaks for itself. Moreover, we are not allowed to speak at any higher level at all."

A primary level Komsomol official from the Alma-Ata Heavy Machine Building Works, in an interview in the congress foyer, then complains that he has not had the chance to air his problems to a wider audience. The scene switches to the Heavy Machine Building Works, where a worker says that young workers should have more say in organizing their work, housing, and provision of allotments.



A cotton worker-delegate, in a foyer interview, says that housing provision is the main problem facing her fellow workers, but that a report from the workers' hostel of the Alma-Ata Cotton Combine Komsomol meeting showed that Komsomol members were really concerned with the quality of the workers' output and what the Komsomol could do to improve it. The members express frustration that their suggestions are not taken into account.

In another foyer interview, the representative from the 40th Anniversary of Kazakhstan Collective Farm says that not enough attention was paid at the congress to the problems of animal husbandry workers. Mukusev is then shown reporting from the farm. He says: "Every time I see white coats I feel very distrustful. You do not wear white coats every day, do you?" When workers shake their heads, Mukusev asks why they have put them on. A worker replies: "to look better." Mukusev says: "It seems to me that it is such little things as the desire to show what does not really exist. Surely it is this that grows into over-reporting, accounts that exist only on paper, the two different lives--the life for the screen and the real life that you live year after year." Asked to give an opinion about the congress, one of the workers says: "On the whole, at such meetings everything is decided in advance. I do not know if this was so at the Komsomol Congress. But around here at the meetings near here, everything is decided before the meeting." Mukusev asks who decides, and the worker replies: "The management has a meeting usually before the meeting." Another young worker says that young workers should be represented on the farm management.

A report from the Kazakh State University shows a Komsomol meeting being addressed by a female student, who calls for everyone to speak out against abuses. She says: "I got here because of my knowledge." Mukusev interrupts, asking if it happens otherwise. She replies: "Of course, nearly always. You only need to be rich, or have a high-up mother or father, or some relative." Another student says: "The only way out is to make sure that all compromised leaders, either of the Komsomol or at the level of rector, pro-rector, or teacher, should leave. And administrative measures should simply be used here." Others call for Komsomol self-mangement.

In an interview, a Komsomol veteran reminisces about the Komsomol's first congress. She says that the present congress is much more reserved and less emotional than the early ones, and recalls how a Komsomol leader who was criticized was made to appear in front of them all to bare his shame.

The scene shifts to the congress, where a woman on the platform says: "Comrade delegates, (Yerken Mashakayev) requests the floor very urgently. He is a team leader in a Komsomol youth collective."

Yerken speaks from the rostrum, saying: "Comrades, it is very hard for me to speak here, because on our way here an exceptional thing happened. On our way here we had a (?fight between different nationalities).

He talked about it among the delegates. We demanded that those comrades [words indistinct] and explain why they brought themselves to this, how, after this, they could look us in the eye and give us instructions. They did not find the strength in themselves to raise the matter. They thought like this: no one will raise it. They were convinced of it, and for them it was like a bolt from the blue, as they say: how could ordinary Komsomol members come out with this? And yesterday, on the decision of our delegates, I was asked not to speak, not to raise it at the congress. But, fine, what if we did not raise it, what would the others think who saw it? After that, how could we give them any sort of direction, lead them, raise their activeness, call them out on subbotniks and so on, when they ask us why we behaved like that, our first and second secretaries of Komsomol obkoms, and they reply that it's our tradition? So I ask everyone that is going to speak here not to cover up these phenomena, these negative phenomena of ours; in order to fight them they must be brought up, discussed. And I am very much in agreement with the man who spoke here, Aleksandr Zverev. He said that anyone should be put forward to lead in the Komsomol, regardless of education—even secondary schooling will do if the rank and file believe in them, if the young people believe. If so, they are okay. They include well-educated specialists, and this will always be a help. But the main thing is that the moral aspect should always be in the first place for this person."

Kolbin is shown applauding with the rest of the audience. Yerken continues:

"I want to add here that everyone is criticizing a lot of things, but in the end they rate things as satisfactory. Probably we should have an objective approach: If something is unsatisfactory, you should say that it is unsatisfactory. The main criterion for assessment should be the prestige of the Komsomol. If we do not have Komsomol prestige, then the work will be unsatisfactory."

Kolbin is again seen joining in the applause. The woman chairing the session then says:

"There is a proposal from the presidium: to instruct the congress credentials commission to look into the instance cited in this speech, and by the end of the congress to report on the case."

The scene switches to interviews with delegates in the foyer. One of them, (Pavel Pokusayev), a foundry worker, says: "I was waiting for the speech by Gennadiy Vasiliyevich Kolbin, because I was thinking about what he really said about internationalist education. It is precisely among the rank and file members that this has not yet been solved." He goes on to say that he knows Kazakh and has a lot of Kazakh friends, and that they get along together in both languages. Another delegate complains that the Komsomol has done nothing for the nationality problem.

Kolbin is then shown addressing the congress. He says: "A note has been sent to the platform asking 'Why did the report, the report of the Komsomol Central Committee, talk about nationalism, but not about chauvinism?' What can be said on that score, comrades? I should like to reply to that question. In the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, this is what was said: only consistent, maintained internationalism can stand up to any epidemics or manifestations of nationalism. As soon as there is a manifestation of nationalism, as soon as it takes place, it is a fait accompli; that means that there was no consistent internationalism to stand up to it. Is that not so? And we must say that there have been instances of chauvinism. Now the question arises: why was there nothing in the report? It talked about nationalism, but not about chauvinism, about cases of it occurring. It is because it was not acceptable to speak either about nationalism or about chauvinism. But someone said that it should be discussed. They did not speak about it. There was one case. In various versions and in small details, examples can be quoted and disclosed. This is how it happens: the elder brother or elder organ did not talk, so the others do not need to talk. That is why it was not discussed in the report. And we did not have the sense to hint that it should be talked about." [applause]

Kolbin continues: "A comrade has asked this question. Is it true that you have promised to speak Kazakh in a year's time?" The audience and Kolbin laugh.

The screen now shows a foyer interview with Olga Silverkina, an economist, who expresses pleasure with the way the congress has gone. Mukusev reads out the names of some of the leading Komsomol officials elected by the congress. This is followed by a quote from the poet Abay, as the camera takes lyrical shots of the congress building.

Next there is a report from the Alma-Ata House-Building Combine, which was visited by Kolbin the day after the congress. Scenes are shown from a meeting he had with young Komsomol workers. Kolbin is seen standing in an industrial shop floor, with young workers around him. He answers questions from them about housing, and tells them that over the last 5-year period the housing line lengthened by 20 percent, while only 20 percent of the housing built was allocated. There were instances of breaking in line. He then declares: "I will give you some figures, comrades. Recently, in the last 2 months, January and February, altogether in the republic we delivered 228 children's establishments and health-care establishments, 83 residences, many hunting lodges, more than 400 apartments that were in general houses kept as guest apartments for the bosses. We delivered altogether more than 700 sites that had been designated for a narrow circle of people, and which have not been used for years, or only when a guest came. Is this right, all this?" The workers respond affirmatively.

A woman in the crowd asks why all these violations occurred.

Kolbin responds by asking the workers themselves: "Why do you think? Will one of you tell us why this was?"

One woman responds: "Because they forget that Soviet power exists".

Kolbin says: "They forgot justice." The crowd agrees. Kolbin continues: "They thought a lot about themselves and not a lot about people, and they thought that this was a norm of behavior. We still have injustice, which we must eliminate. You know where it lies. The republic has many nationalities. There are many large families."

Kolbin exchanges comments with a man in the crowd about how many children he has; then Kolbin talks about the need for large accommodation for large families and the importance of fair allocation of housing. He says:

"We have provided more teaching and less education. Now, internationalist education--how should that be viewed? It was discussed at the Komsomol congress. It does not mean sitting a person opposite you and telling what internationalist education means. It is a complex set of measures. In solving the housing problem we shall ease tension in relations between nations and improve friendship. In solving the food supply problem we are improving relations between people and peoples as a whole. Solving the question of strengthening discipline, the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, is all the same direction. And, in the final analysis, the main direction in work is the formation of stable work forces, the selection of people for higher educational establishments from their place of work. Is this right or not, what do you think?"

The people in the crowd respond affirmatively, and Kolbin continues: "There have been many reciprocal claims to the effect that one nation, one nationality has more students in the colleges, another less. We are setting ourselves this task: to control the process of selection for colleges--that is, to select people according to national proportions, national representation, and according to social groups, however many are needed for the national economy. We are doing things properly now; everything is subject to openness [glasnost]). People in the crowd again respond affirmatively.

The television presenter then suggests to Kolbin that they meet again in 6 months to check on progress. Kolbin and the crowd agree to this. The television presenter ends by asking Kolbin if he has a dream?

Kolbin replies: "I do. My most cherished dream is for people to be happy, all of them."

The program then ends.

/12624  
CSO: 1830/430



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### TAJIK OBKOM CHIEF DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CONCERNS

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe SADOI SHARQ in Tajik No 8, 1986 carries on pages 45-51 an unsigned 2,000-word article, "The Result of Action" ("Barakat az harakat"), subtitled, "Conversation With the First Secretary of the Kulyab Oblast Party Committee S. H. Hasanov" ("Suhbat bo kotibi yakumi komiteti partiyavii viloyati Kulob S. H. Hasanov"). The article notes construction problems in the oblast caused by the need to truck in construction materials from Dushanbe. This is costly and causes delays. With regard to land use, there is land in the oblast which had formerly been productive but now lies idle because of erosion. Some of this land is beginning to be brought into use again. On water issues, there are several concerns. Some areas have water shortage problems (the Surkhab and Yakhsu basins and places in Dangarinskiy, Voseyskiy, and Kulyabskiy rayons). Although water is used wisely in the oblasts as a whole, there are some wasteful rayons and individual farms. Sometimes aerial pesticide spraying contaminates canals and houses. In the opinion of this article, that would not happen if agronomist-entomologists did their job well and clearly demarcated villages and canals. Cleaning canals is becoming more difficult every year; irrigation pumps need repairs. Specialists have devised good plans to solve the problem but the Tajik Ministry of Water Resources has not acted.

/9599

CSO: 1830/416



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### UZBEK CP CC BURO REBUKES OFFICIALS FOR POOR ECONOMIC WORK

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Apr 87 p 1

[Article: "In the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] A regular session of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro was held on 8 April. The participants discussed the results of economic and social development in branches of the UzSSR national economy during the first quarter of 1987, and tasks to guarantee the fulfillment of the yearly plan.

It was noted that during the first quarter of this year the volume of industrial production increased by 5.8 percent, with a yearly allotment of 4.9 percent; output valued at 72.7 million rubles was produced in excess of the plan. The established goals for purchases of livestock and poultry, milk and eggs were fulfilled. The rates of capital construction grew, and the plan for construction-and-installation and contract operations was fulfilled, as well as the plan for introduction of housing, children's preschool institutions, clinics, and vocational-technical training institutions. The profit plan was implemented.

At the same time, not all the party, soviet, and economic agencies guaranteed fulfillment of the assigned tasks. Concealed behind the overall results is a lag with regard to many important indicators in industry, agriculture, and the services sphere.

Labor productivity in industry decreased. The plan for production of a number of types of output was not fulfilled. The assignment for shipments of output was fulfilled by 97.8 percent; every fifth enterprise failed to cope with the contract pledges.

Out of 33 enterprises that were changed over to state approval, the first-quarter plan for shipments was not fulfilled by 24 of them, and for production of commercial output, 19. Many of them are taking steps slowly to eliminate shortcomings, and one continues to observe violations of technological processes, as well as in production of articles that do not conform to the GOST [all-union state standard].

A considerable number of enterprises have had a disruption in the production of consumer goods and output with the higher category of quality, and have been using production capacities unsatisfactorily.

Farms in Andizhan Oblast failed to fulfill the quarterly plan for purchases of meat, and those in Dzizhak and Navoi oblasts, purchases of eggs. On kolkhozes and sovkhoses and at interfarm organizations, a large amount of equipment has not been prepared for operation.

Ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises have failed to fulfill the plan for activation of fixed production assets. In this regard, sharp criticism was leveled at the work of the Sredazugol Association, the Tashkentkabel Plant, and UzSSR Goskomptitseprom [State Committee for Industrial Poultry Breeding], which failed to fulfill the plan for activation of fixed assets and which had a considerable lag in the production of output.

It was noted that certain ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations are continuing to commit crude violations of state planning discipline in capital construction. The lack of balance between the plans for customers and the contractors has not been eradicated. Construction operations based on economic methods are being carried out at inadmissibly slow rates.

Navoi Oblast has failed to fulfill the plan for introduction of schools, and Kashka-Darya and Tashkent oblasts, activation of hospitals.

Glavtashkentstroy has been regularly failing to fulfill the plan for contract operations. Despite the acute shortage of housing in Tashkent, the main administration introduced less housing during the first quarter than during the corresponding period last year. UzSSR Gosagroprom has been carrying out the management of capital construction extremely unsatisfactorily.

The plans for general-use motor transportation, retail commodity turnover, and personal services for the public are not being fulfilled.

It was emphasized that ministries, departments and enterprises, and their party organizations have not yet touched the deeper strata of restructuring, have not been using opportunities to increase their work under new conditions, and have been assimilating poorly economical methods of management. The party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been allowing themselves to make serious omissions in party guidance of the national economy and have lessened their exactingness toward cadres in management, and their monitoring of work performed by collectives.

In the decree that was adopted, the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro required the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, ministries, departments, and associations to carry out a specific analysis of the situation with every lagging enterprise, farm, or organization, and to give them the necessary assistance. Chief attention is to be concentrated on compensating for the lag that has been allowed to occur in output production, in the fulfillment of contract pledges, and in resolution of social questions. Spring field operations are

to be carried out promptly, and fulfillment of plans for production and purchases of output of animal husbandry is to be guaranteed. The lag in retail commodity turnover and in rendering personal services to the public is to be eliminated, and work to create cooperatives is to be increased.

For purposes of improving the state of affairs in capital construction, party committees, ispolkoms of the local soviets, and ministries and departments have been given the responsibility of considering steps to assure fulfillment of the plan by every collective at construction-and-installation organizations, customer associations and enterprises, and to guarantee its fulfillment with regard to all indicators and projects. Specific deadlines have been defined for completing the formation of the draft plan for capital construction in the Uzbek SSR for 1988.

The Central Committee Buro has issued strict warnings to CPSU members, Comrades K. P. Dudin, chief of Glavtashkentstroy; T. N. Nabiyeu, deputy chairman of Gosagroprom, UzSSR minister; and B. A. Piskunov, chairman of UzSSR Goskomptitseprom for regular nonfulfillment of the capital-construction plan, and has required them to take decisive steps to compensate for the lag that was allowed to occur.

The party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been instructed to take the necessary steps to mobilize the efforts of labor collectives for unconditional fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges that were taken for 1987.

The session of the Central Committee Buro considered the question of organizational and political work of the party's Tashkent gorkom in introducing state approval of output at the city's industrial enterprises. In the decree that was adopted, the party's gorkom had indicated the necessity to analyze self-critically the content and methods of its own work, as well as that of the party's raykoms and the primary party organizations in raising the technical level of production, in eliminating shortcomings which exist in executing state approval of output, and in production of modern technology and articles corresponding to the best domestic and foreign prototypes. For these purposes it will be necessary to take fundamental steps to increase the effectiveness of the powerful scientific, technical, and cadre potential that has been created in the republic's capital. It will be necessary to mobilize the efforts of primary party organizations and labor collectives to assure the high quality of articles with the trade mark of Tashkent enterprises.

The session considered the memorandum of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee, concerning major shortcomings in the work performed by managers of UzSSR Ministry of the Forestry Industry. The memorandum mentioned numerous shortcomings in the work of the minister, Comrade P. Yu. Yusupov, and his deputies, Comrades F. F. Fakhrutdinov and N. Yakhyayev in fulfilling the tasks assigned to them, thus leading to failure to fulfill the plans for developing the branch. The memorandum cited instances of thefts and squandering of state property in the subdivisions, of crude violations in the selection and assignment of cadres, and of committee methods in the work of the ministry apparatus. It was pointed out that they have not been taking effective steps to eliminate the shortcomings and omissions or to increase the responsibility borne by the managers and specialists for the job assigned to

them, and have not guaranteed the creation in the collective of a healthy moral-psychological climate. All this has had a detrimental effect upon the development of the republic's forestry industry.

The Central Committee Buro has deemed to be correct the conclusions and principles stated in the memorandum submitted by the KPK [People's Control Committee] under the CPSU Central Committee. For allowing work in the branch to deteriorate, CPSU member, Comrade P. Yu. Yusupov was given a strict reprimand, with that fact entered in his party record card. It was deemed impossible for him to remain any longer in his position as minister of the UzSSR forestry industry.

For allowing the work to deteriorate in the sector assigned to him, CPSU member, Comrade F. F. Fakhrutdinov was given a strict reprimand, with that fact entered in his party record book. It was also deemed to be impossible for him to remain any longer in his position as first deputy minister of the UzSSR forestry industry.

The party's Oktyabrskiy raykom in the city of Tashkent, and the primary party organization of the ministry, were given the responsibility of considering the responsibility borne by CPSU member, deputy minister, Comrade N. Yakhyayev, and of other Communist Party members who had demonstrated a lack of discipline in fulfilling the duties entrusted to them. They are to work out and carry out measures to improve the moral-psychological climate in the collective, and to mobilize the Communist Party members for reinforcing planning, state, and executive discipline.

The session of the Central Committee Buro approved measures for implementing the critical comments and recommendations expressed by the participants of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee's 5th Plenum.

The session adopted the recommendation of the UzSSR Council of Ministers concerning the reorganization of the UzSSR Committee for Industrial Poultry Breeding into the Uzptitseprom Republic Association of Industrial Poultry Breeding.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro discussed and adopted decisions concerning certain other questions of party work and the republic's economic and social development.

5075  
CSO: 1830/426



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### UZSSR OBKOM PROGRESS IN RESTRUCTURING CADRE POLICY DETAILED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Mar 87 (signed to press 17 Feb 87) pp 55-59

[Article by Kh. Akhmedova, Secretary of the Uzbek CP Namangan Obkom: "Raise the Requirements Demanded of Ideology Cadres"]

[Text] In carrying out the instructions of the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress on strengthening the bond between ideology and everyday practice, the Namangan Obkom of the Uzbekistan CP has first of all begun a decisive restructuring of its work with respect to the selection, assignment, and training of ideology cadres. This has been all the more necessary because the oblast has witnessed crude violations of the required party-like approach to the resolution of cadre problems. There has been a flourishing of favoritism and appointments to supervisory positions made on the basis of nepotism, district favoritism, and personal friendships. All of this has led to numerous abuses and even often to crimes. The principle of justice has frequently been violated which naturally has weakened, and at times simply negated, the effectiveness of educational work.

There have even been quite a few shortcomings in the very organization of ideological and mass-political activity. The oblast's party committees, soviet organs, and public organizations have not effectively concentrated their efforts in the most important form of that activity, namely individual work with people. Insufficient attention has been given to the characteristics of the various population groups. Many scholars, national economy specialists, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia have not been involved in the ideological-moral training of the workers. And the aktiv that has been recruited by the party committees has not paid sufficient attention to such areas of ideological work as propaganda about the revolutionary, militant, and labor traditions of the working class, civil-moral, and atheistic upbringing of young people. Serious shortcomings can also be charged to the manner in which violations of labor discipline and public order are being controlled and the struggle against profiting from non-labor income.

In reviewing the ideological and mass-political work that is being carried out today in the light of the demands of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we have been constantly analyzing the reasons for these

shortcomings. One of the reasons is that not everyone who has been entrusted with the indoctrination of people has been equal to the task of carrying out this vital party assignment. And the reason they could not manage that assignment is because they were not trained for it. That is why the party obkom, in establishing a strict procedure for the assignment and training of party, soviet, and enterprise personnel, has been particularly exacting in its approach to the selection of ideology workers. The only persons capable of indoctrinating people and leading them are those who are well trained in theory and method, flawless in their work and public and everyday life, and who are respected by the populace as competent persons.

We undertook a special certifying examination. It demonstrated that not all of the ideology cadre satisfy these high level criteria. Many had to change their work style and learn how to operate anew. But there were also others whom we simply had to replace. Thus, the following persons were relieved of their positions: Secretary of the Chutskiy raykom M. Isakov, Chief of the Namangan gorkom Propaganda and Agitation Department I. Rakhmatullayev, party committee secretaries of the Pobeda sovkhos of Yangikurganskiy Rayon and the Leningrad kolkhoz of Papskiy Rayon Kh. Abdurakhmanov and S. Egamberdiyev respectively, deputy editor of the oblast newspaper NAMANGAN KHAKIKATI I. Egamberdiyev, and the editor of the Yangikurgan rayon newspaper MEKHNAT BAYROGI A. Nasritdinov.

Our certifying examination was undertaken for both staff ideology personnel and the aktiv. The certification examination of lecturers without doubt contributed to an improvement in the quality of propaganda lectures. One example is the fact that in Turakurganskiy Rayon the examination was failed by 201 persons who had previously been delivering lectures.

We are currently striving to prepare promising young cadre for ideology work. The party obkom is making an intensive effort to make sure that these persons enrich their ideological and theoretical knowledge and improve their professional mastery. To accomplish that goal the obkom has approved a set of measures which we call "The System of Working with Ideology Cadres." Those measures stipulate the structure and substance of training for staff ideology personnel and the aktiv, deputy secretaries of the primary party organizations, and all associates in the oblast's ideology institutions. The measures define the forms of ideological-theoretical training for each category as well as ways of reforming professional skills. The topics covered in these training exercises emanated from the certification examinations and interviews conducted in the raykoms, the gorkom, and the party obkom. The training program has been designed for a period of one year.

For example, the training of workers in the propaganda and agitation departments of the gorkom and raykoms of the party is organized in the following manner: Seminars are conducted monthly in accordance with the devised lesson plans, but each time the seminar is held in a specific rayon of the oblast. The students study the experience of ideological-political training gained in the primary party organizations, exchange opinions, critical comments, and suggestions, at a plenary session meet with scholars, officials of the party obkom, and receive methodological materials and vital information.

I must say that we are convinced of the effectiveness of this form of training. As a matter of fact the party apparatus workers not only acquire theory skills in the course of that training, but also study practical experience which they put to use. Here is an example. A seminar held in the Uychinskiy Rayon dealt with the topic: "The Experience of Party Organizations in Working Individually with Believers, Including Pilgrims to 'Holy Places'." The site of that seminar was not selected at random. Because the value of purposeful, persistent atheistic work was underestimated, that area of activity was seriously neglected. On the other hand, positive experience was gained in the Uychinskiy Rayon where not only special lecturers were involved in atheistic propaganda, but a broad aktiv of people's deputies, teachers, and cultural workers.

The most valuable aspect of that work is emphasis is given to work with individuals and an accounting of the features of the various population groups. In addition, the Uychin atheists not only strive to have general discussions with the people, but base those discussions on specific facts and convincing examples.

The seminar students are making considerable use of the skills they acquire. Consequently, there has been a considerable improvement in work with individuals in the oblast, particularly in the residential areas. That effort has been joined by the oblast press and radio. Agitation groups composed of lecturers, theater artists, and amateur theatrical members have become popular. And as we know, the graphically portrayed word has an enormous force of conviction.

Of interest in this respect is the work of the agitation trains, including the republic train which sponsors operations in our oblast. For example, the crew of the Uzbekistan Komsomol agitation train includes professor atheist lecturers, party veterans, labor and war veterans, writers, and theater personalities. It is particularly important that they offer methodological assistance to the local organization of atheist propaganda and the introduction of Soviet rituals.

The January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee called the attention of party organizations and communists to the need of comprehending the actual picture and future development of national relations. The Soviet people have much to be proud of here. These kinds of relations have become so customary that the few negative incidents that did take place seem like minor misunderstandings. However, there can be no trifles in national relations. That is how the party obkom sees the picture. International training is undertaken in our republic in labor collectives, in hundreds of international friendship clubs, and in revolutionary, militant, and labor glory rooms. We have seen how much can be done here by athletics. The oblast conducts athletic events in the memory of Heroes of the Soviet Union Sali Adashev and Boris Ivanovskiy and the cotton grower, Hero of Socialist Labor Abdulla Bakhramov. We are constantly strengthening our friendship with the Kirov Oblast workers.

But placidity at times hides seriously underfulfilled tasks. For example, the need to raise the quality of instruction in the Russian language schools is a problem that has been raised in meetings with workers.

Work with individuals at their place of residence, which is particularly important in our oblast, has been the weakest link in the program of international indoctrination. Take this fact, for example. We have quite a few mothers with a large number of children. As a rule, they do not work at the enterprises so they are not exposed to the measures undertaken at the labor collectives. In consideration of this fact, party committees have organized special propaganda groups which meet with housewives and pensioners at home. Their task is to undertake individual work with this category of the population and to be informed about all the problems that concern them. The psychological factor is also important here. The housewife may be visited by a reputable person, oftentimes the supervisor of the enterprise where her husband, son, or daughter is employed. This person has a personal conversation with her, talks about world and national events, the development of the oblast's economy and culture, about existing problems, asks how she is getting along, and listens to any questions, advice, or complaints she may have. This creates a trusting, warm atmosphere. There is another useful side to this. During such meetings various suggestions may be expressed, many of which can and must be realized. Thus, there was the question of organizing at-home work shops at the enterprises. Today, there are already over 3,000 pensioners and mothers with large families in that work.

The training of the city and rayon ideology aktiv has now approached the practice of the party organizations. Activities with the aktiv are also being undertaken locally and are concerned with specific tasks of ideological-indoctrination operations. Special programs have been arranged for apprenticeship training of ideology cadres and aktiv training at a Marxism-Leninism university.

In order to prevent the ideological work of the party organizations from becoming too remote from everyday practice, the oblast committee has demanded that the party organizations make fuller use of direct contact with people. The effectiveness of that approach has been proven by experience. Take, the common political days, for example. What is the principal harm caused by those events? Formalism. The people who go to meet a party committee speaker who, as a rule, is a rayon or oblast supervisor, go there with the intention not only of listening to a report, but to talk about problems that bother them, to share their thoughts, and perhaps, to direct some critical remarks at the speaker. But when the audience is offered the reading of a previously prepared text, this squelches any desire on their part to attend Political Days events.

We shall state frankly that it is not easy to have our speakers change from such not very compelling monologues in front of a silent audience to a presentation in which there is a dialogue with the audience where questions must be answered and where impartial remarks are directed at the speaker. These kinds of remarks cannot be dispelled by some general statements. Specific and competent replies are required in response to specific questions or suggestions.



Everything here has not been proceeding favorably. But there has been movement. The common political days are increasingly being conducted at labor collectives in the manner applied by the First Secretary of the Naryn party raykom M. Mirzabayev. Wherever he speaks there is always a frank discussion about the collective's work, work and leisure conditions, everyday conditions, and the mood of the people. As a rule, those in attendance advance many practical suggestions. Often this kind of conversation serves as a good lesson for the raykom secretary himself. Thus, M. Mirzabayev went to the Kommunizm kolkhoz to express his concerns about its operations. Namely, the brigade headed by the communist M. Madaminov, turned out to be last in the republic to submit its report on cotton procurement. But the brigade was able to give the secretary convincing proof that it made good sense to wait for the full maturation of cotton and then, by utilizing the full capacity of their machinery, harvest the crop within five working days. And it turned out that the farmers were right. They procured 320 tons of crude cotton within a five-day period. After having fulfilled their annual quota ahead of schedule, the cost-accounting brigade saved about 20 thousand rubles on harvesting alone, of which almost seven thousand rubles were used for bonuses to cotton growers. This meant that every member of the brigade received a supplement of almost 500 rubles in addition to this base pay. Now the experience gained by Madaminov's brigade is being studied and disseminated.

In raising the exactingness placed on ideology cadre and the aktiv, we are also trying to resolve problems related to the material technical support for ideological indoctrination among the labor collectives. Moreover, this is being done in consideration of the specific requirements of the oblast. The primary party organizations have suggested where our efforts should be directed here. They have begun to organize so-called public-political centers.

The first center was organized at the initiative of the party committee and the propagandists of the Pakhtakor kolkhoz of Narynskiy Rayon. The premises provided for that purpose have been furnished with study rooms for political and economic education, mass-political work, and a political literature library. Next door is a kolkhoz club and a museum of military and labor glory. More effective opportunities have been created for the use of technical propaganda media, visual aids, and the concentration of information essential to the work of propagandists, political information specialists, and agitators. The work at the center is carried out according to a plan approved by the party committee.

The party obkom has organized a special seminar based at the party organization of the Pakhtakor kolkhoz. The seminar participants include the party raykom secretaries and ideology workers.

Today, activities concerned with all forms of political, economic, and professional training are held in the study halls and classrooms of the public-political centers as well as seminars for agitators, lecturers, political information specialists, party group organizers, secretaries of shop party organizations, and sessions of methodological councils. Activists who are preparing for discussions and lectures have all the materials they need at

hand. We are striving to have all the necessary technical propaganda equipment and visual aids available at each center of public-political work. Movie rentals provide the center with popular science films.

And there is one more very important feature. A duty roster of partkom representatives has been organized here. This was brought about by the fact that the public-political centers were immediately perceived as a place where one could bring any problem.

The work of the centers is coordinated by the party committees of the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and enterprises. They are constantly assisted by national economy specialists and deputies of the local Soviets. In a sense, the public-political centers are branches and bases of the Political Education Club of the obkom and of the party raykom offices.

In attributing considerable importance to bringing all ideological indoctrination efforts to the production sectors, to the brigade and the link, we have begun to give more attention to activating the efforts of the ideology aktiv at the field mills.

Our oblast is an agrarian-industrial region. Seventy percent of the population resides in the rural areas. Cotton growers spend seven to eight months of the year in the field. Therefore each brigade has its own field mill which has been arranged to accommodate persons over a prolonged period. Take, for example, the field mill of B. Pulatov's brigade in Namanganskiy Rayon. This mill is a genuine brigade home which is major and expansive building. It has a kitchen, dining room, recreation room, recreation and reading room, seasonal nurseries, a women's hygiene room, showers, and athletic area, and even a small orchard. After dinner, one can watch television or read a newspaper. If you want a book, you can get one in the mobile library. The young people rush to the athletic yard and the older persons rest in the shade of a plane tree over a cup of tea with relaxed conversation. The field mill is visited by vehicles from the Household Wares Store, cooperative mobile shops, physicians, and artists. In this way, the field mills become a genuine comfortable homestead for the rural worker during the long months of cotton growing. Their kolkhozniks call it their second home.

That is why we believe that the field mills are an active area for party committee speakers, lecturers and political information specialists to be among agricultural workers. Political indoctrination among tractor drivers is concentrated at the machine-tractor pools and at the farms among cattle breeders.

Concern about improving working, living, and recreational conditions wherever they might be expressed, not only lifts the mood of people, but also restructures their consciousness. We are constantly reminding party, managerial, Soviet cadre, and the aktiv about that fact. That is all the more important if we admit with all frankness that we have not yet eliminated everywhere the heritage of the recent past when the level of ideological work was defined by "fake" information, by fudged statistics, and high-faluting

phrases. It has not been easy to overcome those features. We still have poor lectures, boring Political Days events, and mass measures whose main purpose is "to involve" as many people as possible.

The oblast committee of the party, in realistically appraising the status of ideological indoctrination operations in the oblast, and in striving to raise the quality of that work, demands that the ideology cadre and the aktiv reach out to each person in a way that the serious and complex tasks set by the 12th Five-Year Plan in all sectors of the oblast's economic and social life become that person's personal goals. Only in this way can we activate all our reserves to heighten the energy of the human factor.

6289

CSO: 1830/353

## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### VIEWER POLL CRITICIZES QUALITY, NOTES GROWING ROLE OF CENTRAL TV

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 87 p 7

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Ivanovich Gagarkin, chief editor of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting's Main Editorial Office for Letters and Sociological Research, by Vl. Arsenyev under the "TV and Us" rubric: "Who is Who? What is What?"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Moscow, Sivtsev vrazhek, 25.... The Gosteleradio SSSR's [USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting's] Main Editorial Office for Letters and Sociological Research is located here. It is in the center of Staryy Arbat, far from Ostankino and Shabolovki. However, this remoteness from TsT's [Central Television's] well-known addresses can also be understood symbolically. The sociology and mail-analysis service was created expressly to judge television broadcasting's quality as if from a detached viewpoint, objectively.

Inasmuch as it is impossible to encompass the boundless--a brief summary of the latest research's results alone would fill two or three newspaper pages as a minimum--it was decided to pick out what is the most important and characteristic. We agreed as follows: We shall cite the results of certain polls and research, and Chief Editor Aleksandr Ivanovich Gagarkin will comment upon them.

So, how did the television viewers rate the New Year's broadcasts? The GRPSI [Main Editorial Office for Letters and Sociological Research] (abbreviated name of the editorial office adopted for use by Central Television) addressed the question to them in the weekly publication "Moscow Speaks and Shows." About 4,000 letters and responses arrived. Almost simultaneously with this express poll, questionnaires asking the very same question were distributed to the residents of Moscow. What was the outcome?

Of the television viewers, 40 percent rated the New Year's Week programs "good," 43 percent--"satisfactory," and 13 percent--"poor." The rest declined to answer. The main shortcoming--a suitably festive film premiere, such, for example, as "The Irony of Fate," "An Ordinary Miracle," or "A Formula for Love," was lacking. And the one that was shown--"Monsieur Perrichon's Journey"--was unfavorably rated.



The greatest success fell to the lot of the KVN [Club of the Cheerful and Resourceful]. The broadcast "Focusing on Laughter" came out in second place. "Song-86" placed high, but even so the young people did not like it. They rated the broadcast "Rhythms of the Planet" much higher.

"The New Year Holiday Concert"--20 percent of the viewers spoke favorably of it, and just as many--unfavorably, feeling that an ordinary stage concert was shown, and nothing more. The viewers reacted very reservedly to premieres of the artistic films "Necessary People" and "The Snow Queen's Secret"--the responses were mainly unfavorable.

"Naturally, we have acquainted all of Central Television's workers involved in the New Year's programs with these results. Indeed, even now it is necessary to think about the coming New Year's program for 1988," says Aleksandr Ivanovich. "The essence of our work is to point out the miscalculations in time, if there are any, and at the same time, to help establish a correctly chosen direction and a properly set tone. I will not say that the effectiveness of television broadcasting previously did not interest Central Television's workers at all, but public opinion has never before been studied with such consistency--for the purpose of seeking out the optimum forms of presentation, content depth, and relevance. In other words, they have never before gone to the television viewers so concernedly--for their opinions, judgement, and advice."

"Express polls--these are just part of our everyday work. We also conduct more generalized research, which requires more time for the collecting and processing of results. We poll the audience on the basis of strictly scientific methods, so that all social groups are represented, and we also take education into account, and the distinctive features of the audience's work or study, its age, and its sex...."

"Republic television studios also conduct similar research for themselves. Some of them--in Georgia and Estonia--and I am judging by a broadcast recently conducted in Moscow, have acquired exceptional experience. Their conclusions are heeded, and they are allotted special time on the air. The feedback from the television viewers turns out to be strong and reliable."

[Question] And on Central Television?

[Answer] I can only repeat that, unlike previous years, the attitude toward us--toward sociology and mail analysis--is both serious and businesslike. It is not necessary to go far for the facts. At the beginning of the present year, you know, the broadcast "Today in the World," which had gone on at 18,45, disappeared from the program. This occurred without our participation. And I will tell you frankly, it was somewhat surprising. The point is that it was known to us from previous research: An overwhelming majority of television viewers watched this production. Understandably, Central Television's decision caused consternation; we were pelted with letters, and there were many telephone calls. Ultimately, the error was corrected.

[Question] A question in this regard: It interests me, who is the most popular international commentator?

[Answer] The latest "rating" was compiled in the fall. In first place--Seyful-Mulyukov.

[Question] Does your research concern all aspects of Central Television's work?

[Answer] Practically all.

[Question] The program "Time"?...

[Answer] We have been making an analysis of its content. The television viewers have pointed out a disproportion between what is being shown them, especially in the program's economic section, and that which interests them. It is not the essence of an innovation of science and technology, shall we say, but primarily, what this innovation gives the viewer, Ivanov, Petrov, or Sidorov personally, and what good it will do for society, for all and each. This conclusion has been taken into account by the program's composers.

[Question] Sociopolitical broadcasts?

[Answer] The most popular is "Problems--Inquiry--Solutions." Almost 6,000 reactions to the last 3 broadcasts of this year have arrived, and there have been about 2,000 telephone calls. True, analysis has shown that there are problems, and inquiries also occur, but then the solutions are fewer than might be desired.

[Question] "The World and Young People"?

[Answer] The first research, including letter-content analysis, was conducted as early as 3 years ago, when the broadcast first went on the air. And it has been conducted recently. The growth of interest in it is readily apparent. Whereas 43 percent of those polled in 1984 believed that the broadcast's heroes were true to life, and 39 percent found them embellished, the indices now are different. Only 18 percent believes that the broadcast represents its heroes as better than they are.

[Question] What can you say about "The 12th Floor"?

[Answer] It is very popular with young people. Of the viewers, 62 percent rate the broadcast "good," and only 4 percent speak badly of it. "The Stairway" is considered mandatory by 82 percent....

[Question] Tell me, and how do the television viewers generally rate the changes in Central Television's work?

[Answer] The overwhelming majority is pleased with the changes, and only a few consider that nothing has changed. And we, ourselves, also see how interest in television has grown today. Last week alone, 28,000 letters arrived. And in 1986, there were a million and a half of them, more than in 1985 by 400,000. The question of processing the mail by EVM [computer] has arisen with the utmost urgency. We hope that it will be resolved in the near future. And the letters themselves have become, perhaps, more social. They say: Central Television has become more incisive, bolder, and it talks about problems that are vital, about life that is not fictitious. And in the critical comments, there are a good many of these, too, we see an obvious desire to help television become better and more useful with sound advice and sensible suggestions.

[Question] Last year, insofar as I know, you conducted a lot of research on musical broadcasts. In visiting Ostankino, I heard that your conclusions had embarrassed many.

[Answer] Those, rather, who had lost contact with the present day, were embarrassed. As for the research itself, it was truly thorough. The majority of the hypotheses was confirmed....

Hence the results of the research, in the course of which 1,248 persons in 5 oblasts and 1 autonomus republic of the RSFSR were polled.

Television viewers with incomplete secondary education are more satisfied than others with the musical broadcasting. Those who have higher and secondary education react more critically toward it. Conclusion--the orientation has been upon obviously substandard audience interests. Only 34 percent of the viewers had seen changes for the better. Every other one felt that there should be more musical broadcasts. They are needed by 71 percent of those polled in order to relax, for mood. "The Morning Mail" was acknowledged as favorite broadcast by the majority. Only 6 percent of the viewers mentioned classical music in their responses. However, it must be noted here that 72 percent of those polled do not consider themselves devotees of this music. In all, 3 percent love, appreciate, and understand it.

Entertainment musical broadcasts, although there were far fewer of them than of the classics during the period of the research, met with infinitely greater interest. The poll's data refuted the prevalent opinion about the seeming superpopularity of foreign pop music. True, the research did not cover Moscow, Leningrad, and other major cities, where the young people's craving for western rock and pop music is stronger. Consequently, named as the most popular stage artists were A. Pugachev--37 percent, S. Rotaru--32 percent, and V. Leontyev--13 percent.

Authors' concert parties of composers, the international festival "Rainbow," and the broadcast "Creativity of the World's Peoples" are very popular. But here is another research conclusion--more definitive age differentiation of musical broadcasting is necessary....

[Question] The thoroughness of your research is evident, Aleksandr Ivanovich. But does it not seem to you that you only record viewer interest, and your recommendations do not so substantially affect the broadcasts?

[Answer] The conclusions and recommendations are put to practical use, and they are considered in making up programs for the future. True, not everyone at Central Television has acquired a taste for sociology and has, as yet, overcome the obstacle of distrust toward research; nonacceptance of the chronic disease of sociology in general makes itself felt. Maybe we, too, need to work harder to be able to become indispensable. However, even now, today, I can say with complete justification: CENTRAL TELEVISION HEARS THE VOICE OF THE VIEWERS.

12319

CSO: 1830/384



## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### STATISTICS, FUTURE PLANS FOR DOMESTIC VIDEO INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by A. Lipkov, candidate in art criticism, under the rubric "Problem": "What is the future of video?"]

[Text] Things have clearly progressed from a standstill. Up until a year ago, they wrote about video almost exclusively in the future tense. Now it can be discussed a bit in the present tense as well.

In fact, the statistics (which I got from the All-Union Industrial Enterprise "Videofilm" under the jurisdiction of USSR Goskino) as of 1 November 86 are as follows: there are 35 video outlets in 30 cities in the country. There are 608 titles and 55,000 units all told. Video outlet services were used by 35,000 clients who rented cassettes and 131,200 who viewed films in video booths and halls (Note: video halls usually have approximately 20 seats for viewing of a program of films established by the outlet's management. Video booths seat only 4 people and are intended, so to speak, for "family viewing": the clients themselves choose the film under this format).

And what are we to make of these statistics? Are these figures high or low? Low. Pitifully low. Although it is clear that the choice of 608 tapes is many times larger than what a viewer can be offered by even a large rental outlet such as the one in Moscow with all of its 140 movie theaters.

So this is still an accomplishment. Moreover, although present-day and future difficulties are considerable, this is obviously a vital and long-term venture. Through the end of this year the number of video outlets in the country is to grow to 60, with 74 more to open next year. Halls are under construction with video theaters having a 70-100 seat capacity, projector facilities and wide screens (up to 3m diagonally). Such theaters have special potential for viewing new releases before they go to Union rental outlets.

Video is an extremely useful means of serving isolated regions of Siberia and the Far East, and new cities (Surgut, which previously did not have a single movie theater, is now served by a video theater). It is especially good for entertaining shift-work settlements of construction workers and drillers: a movie, which would arrive in tape and reel form in two 15 kg boxes, can now be dropped as one pocket-sized cassette together with the mail from a helicopter.

Well-known crowded establishments, such as hospitals, airports, and train stations have begun to show an interest in video. The first video rooms on wheels have made their appearance. While there are as yet only two such buses, in Voronezh and Zaporozhye, everyone realizes that this type of service is both handy and long-term--it broadens video's geographical distribution and makes of it a tool for delivering video courses and lectures. (Moreover, enterprises and organizations have for a long while been allowed to pay for video services by non-cash transactions.)

The development of video outlets is starting to be recognized, at last, not as a commercial enterprise, but as an important factor in our cultural life. Nonetheless, video outlets, despite the valuable service they perform, are still unprofitable. But the state is willing to absorb these losses, since they are offset in a spiritual sense and, with time, once the market of videotech users expands, undoubtedly in a material sense as well. In other words, this market must be expanded in every possible way, foreign purchases of everyday videotech made, domestic videotech production increased.

There is not much to brag about on this score for the time being. Domestic electronic production will put out only 12,000 "Elektronika VM-12" VCRs this year, so that prospective buyers will apparently have to wait their turn for several years. Two new VCR models--"VM-15" and "VM-17"--have been designed. The former is somewhat simplified, the latter more complex. And what is important to note is that both will be used not only for reproduction but also for tape-recording. As a rule, video outlets, halls and schools do not need tape-recording facilities. It would be much more useful and beneficial for them to have a machine for reproduction--the purchase price is half as much and presumably amortization costs would also be cut in half. Moreover, this equipment is simpler to maintain and repair, and industry would be more easily able to increase production of this commodity. In our opinion, organizations planning the work of Minelektronprom (Ministry of the Electronics Industry) should first and foremost orient themselves towards the interests of culture, not commerce; towards the collection rather than the individual consumer.

In preparing this article, I met with the director of "Videofilm," F. Perepelov and his deputy, V. Olitskiy, who told me about other opportunities for video distribution. In the near future, videocafes and videodiscotheques are to be opened. While this is enticing and attractive, the lack of special programs is holding its development at a standstill. The vast majority in the present repertory are artistic films, many of whose creators in fact would have hardly dreamt that their works would be shown as light entertainment competing with the clatter of knives and forks.

Therefore, one of the main orientations of the association's present work is creating special programs for video, and not just musical and light entertainment. Among those in preparation for production are the videoprograms "Remembrances of Vysotskiy," "How to Become a Star" (with V. Leontev and the V. Polunin group of mimes), an artistic portrait of the composer Y. Dogi, "Disc Jockey," programs of the rock group "Aquarium," Lithuanian and Estonian rock groups.

Among programs planned for release in the current five-year plan are those of the groups "Arsenal," "Autograph," concert-portraits of V. Okudzhava, Yu. Kim, A. Rosenbaum, G. Khazanov. Attention has been focused on classical music as well--in videos on "the Virtuosos of Moscow," "December meetings" in the Pushkin Museum, on Ylena Obraztsovaya, Mario del Monaco, Maria Callas, Placido Domingo. Videotapes of performances of the country's best dramatic groups will be released. And programs purchased abroad will please viewers by offering visits with Aznavour, Dalida, Mireille Mathieu, and other masters of the stage.

But this is only one of the directions of the wide-ranging plan for studio production. There is also a socio-political component (the series "Lives of Remarkable People," "Lenin and the Revolution," "The Great Patriotic War," ("New Thinking in the Nuclear Age," "Religion: Past and Present"), "The History of Photography," "The History of Soccer," and an educational section. There is also a kind of "home encyclopedia" component: cassettes with instructions on furnishing your apartment, physical fitness, basic cooking skills, automotive repair. Others include advice to young mothers on child care and advice to young families.

Copies of videocassettes will be made in series and there will be television productions as well. As of the moment, there is an agreement with USSR Gostele-radio [State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting]: 50 hours of its programming will be produced for this purpose on an annual basis. We believe this number to be clearly inadequate. The possibilities of television are much greater--since its inception a large number of films have been accumulated, artistic and documentary, plus feature performances and musical programming. Thought should be given to cooperation between television and "Videofilm."

And so, video is becoming an ever more visible sign of our culture. The more it develops, the greater will be its significance. But there is still the inertia of a negative or simply neglectful attitude towards video. The directors of many soviet ispolkoms either pay no attention whatsoever to it or put it at the end of the priority list. Certainly they have enough concerns, and all of them important, but this one should in no way be considered vacuous. And the place for a municipal video outlet is not in the hinterlands or outlying districts, nor in basements or condemned buildings, but in the downtown area, in the most populous and lively places. Moreover, there are cities that did not need to have this explained in the newspaper: the people of Voronezh, for example, have located their video outlet on the main street and have specially relocated the "Artistic Salon" and the "Philately" store in different buildings.

In the main though, unfortunately municipal agencies are not overly generous in helping video outlets. Even for the simple things: providing facilities for the video outlet customer to order a cup of coffee or a piece of pastry and juice. Far from it. Moscow food services up to now has not seen fit to open such a bar in the video outlet on Arbat Street, which has been open now

for over a year. Perhaps, in this instance it would make sense to rely on the private initiative of the video outlet's staff?

Video has many problems today. But the outlook and opportunities for its application are nonetheless greater. We just have to help it develop. For example, video cassettes should be advertised in the press. For now, we shall be grateful to any newspaper or review that understands the importance of this cause.

There is no doubt that video will accompany us into tomorrow. It is important that it do so fully equipped.

12912/12851  
CSO: 1800/266



## **MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA**

### **PARTY PROPAGANDA EFFORTS FAULTED IN TAJIKISTAN**

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON in Tajik No 10, 1986 carries on pages 46-50 an unsigned 1,300-word article, "Let Us Study Marxist-Lenist Theory Deeply" ("Nazariyai marksisti-leniniro chuqur omuzem"). After praising several examples of ideological propaganda efforts the article states that the reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist education system remains weak. Not all party committees and primary party organizations show the appropriate concern for seeking new methods to teach communists. There are cases of formalism. The article singles out for criticism the rayons of Garm, Lenin, Komsomolabad, and Pyandzh and also the party organizations at five factories in various parts of Tajikistan. The methodological work of party educational offices and methodological councils does not meet contemporary demands. Few propagandists keep in contact with their students outside the workplace or show an interest in their students' conduct, family life, or personal commitment to fulfilling the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress. The article discusses at length the importance of the party's ideological propaganda as an aid to attaining the economic objectives of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

/9599

CSO: 1830/417

## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### LESSONS OF FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN RECOUNTED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 1, Jan 87 pp 78-92

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences V.A. Kozlov and O.V. Khlevnyuk under the rubric "Platform for the Scientist-Publicist": "Be Able to Re-structured: The Experience of the 1st Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] At critical stages in socialism's advance, when fundamentally new and complex problems are being resolved and our thoughts are turned toward the future, interest in past experience in the building of socialism takes on a special, practical meaning--an applied meaning, one might say. Typically, at the very beginning of the current crucial phase involving acceleration of the nation's social and economic development, we heard the words: "...Prior to the war the older generations were resolving the problem of covering in decades a path which other nations had taken centuries to travel.... Today, we also need to travel a long path--also within a short period of time." (Footnote 1) (M.S. Gorbachev, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1985, p 70) The 27th Party Congress developed the acceleration strategy on the basis of this task.

Among other things, the critical nature of the current five-year plan, upon the results of which the dynamic of the nation's development to the end of the century depends, directs our historical interest to the period of the 1st Five-Year Plan (1928-1932), which embodied the grand plans of socialist reconstruction for the national economy. At that time, under extremely difficult circumstances, the party succeeded in achieving an essential and radical psychological restructuring in the mind of the masses, an unprecedented stimulation of the human factor and a real flight of labor enthusiasm, which to a significant degree predetermined our success in the building of socialism in the '30s.

G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy once called the 1st Five-Year Plan a period of "great stir-up of the working masses." (Footnote 2) (G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy, "Izbrannoye" [The One Chosen], Moscow, 1957, p 427) We say today that we have no more time for stirring [people] up; it was exhausted by the past. This makes all the more important the party's organizing and guiding role, all the more valuable a knowledge of its accumulated know-how, which makes it possible to convert the energy of plans into the energy of practical mass action.

## A Breakthrough is Essential!

It was the second half of the '20s. From the speaker's platform at congresses and conferences, at meetings of party cells, in newspapers and in letters from the workers, one constantly heard the words: "We are at the point of a breakthrough." "We are now at a turning point." The restoration period had been completed and the years of starvation and ruin were behind. Soviet power held the commanding heights in the economy, but nonetheless: "A breakthrough was essential!" In 1925 the 14th Congress of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Boshelviiks) proclaimed a course of industrialization and set forth the task of "conducting the economic development with a view to turning the USSR from a nation importing machinery and equipment into a nation producing machinery and equipment...." (Footnote 3) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 3, 9th edition, amended and enlarged, Moscow, 1984, p 427) This extremely difficult task was used as a yardstick for measuring the successes previously achieved in economic development, and they were therefore perceived only as a starting point essential for a decisive thrust into the future.

History allowed our nation very little time for a gradual build-up of manpower and equipment, for preliminary decision-making, testing and experimentation. The class enemy was openly counteracting the building of socialism, and numerous petty bourgeois elements of the city and the country doubted that it was feasible. A "new opposition" in the party itself was attempting to force debate on the possibility of building socialism in a single nation. Will and determination, Marxist-Leninist tempering and historical optimism were needed for the ideological defeat of the opposition at the 14th Party Congress. Newspapers brought us reports from abroad on the murder of Soviet diplomats, unceasing demands by the capitalist powers that the debts of the czarist government be paid, and sharp criticism of the USSR by right-wing forces in England and France. "There continues to be the alarming knowledge that although there are no fronts, the danger exists!" V. Mayakovskiy wrote in 1926. (Footnote 4) (V.V. Mayakovskiy, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], 13-volume edition, Moscow, Vol 7, 1958, p 194) And while one could speak of a certain equilibrium in the "peaceful coexistence" between the USSR and the capitalist nations, 2 years later this short-lived "detente" ended, giving way to a period of "sudden imperialist attacks and preparations for intervention against the USSR." (Footnote 5) ("Pyatnadtsatyy syezd VKP(b). Dekabr 1927 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 15th Congress of the VKP(b), December 1927: Stenographic Record], two-part edition, Moscow, Part 1, 1961, p 53)

The growing external danger in and of itself accounted for the party's turn toward accelerated socialist development and forced industrialization, although this involved numerous difficulties and sacrifices and made it necessary to reject good things of the moment for the sake of retaining and protecting the gains of October. Internal conflicts in the Soviet society's development in the mid-twenties also led to this decision. Reaching the prewar level of economic development under the conditions of that "social upheaval and the advance made by the October Revolution," G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy said, uncovered

a large number "of blatant disparities and inconsistencies in our economy"--from unemployment to the dearth of goods. (Footnote 6) (Ibid., Moscow, part 2, 1962, p 898) Restoring the economic capability to that of prerevolutionary Russia could not ensure realization of the social programs proclaimed by the Bolsheviks in 1917, the supplanting of capitalist elements in the economy or the victory of socialism. Attempts to further enhance the welfare of the workers, with the obvious shortage of materials and equipment, with agriculture in a rut and with low labor productivity would have resulted in the rapid "depletion" of the worn-out equipment pool. One could not count on "supplementing the diet" of the working class at the expense of the peasantry. This would not only have increased agriculture's lag and ultimately worsened the economic conditions of the workers, but would also have undermined the social and political foundation of Soviet power--the alliance of workers and peasants.

In order to put the social gains of October onto a solid economic foundation and decide the question "Whose for whom?" to the benefit of socialism, it was essential to accelerate the continued advance to a pace not known by the capitalist world, to create a powerful industrial base within an extremely short period of time, and to systematically increase the proportion of the socialist sector in the economy. "It would be absurd to think," V.V. Kuybyshev said at the 15th VKP(b) Congress in December 1927, "that these great achievements can come about by themselves, that we will be able to achieve these results by working in a casual manner and developing spontaneously. I have to frankly say that all of these achievements are produced by an extremely great exertion of will on the part of the working class and the party." (Footnote 7) (Ibid., p 956)

Elements of stagnation and "bedsores" on the entire social organism, the preservation and intensification of conflicts in all areas of public life--not just in economics and politics, but also in the public awareness, in the social attitude of the masses, who sensed the nonconformity of the socialist ideal to the true reality--threatened to delay the decisive socialist "assault." Many workers had not severed their ties with agriculture and were living two lives, as it were, frequently resting up in production after heavy, exhausting labor on the farm. The financial difficulties increased the numbers of disillusioned and weary, and the "ugly mug of the petty bourgeois" with his "worldly wisdom" and his yearning for a peaceful life still appeared "back of" the soviets.

Forces hostile to the new order certainly did not intend to give up their position without a battle. Serious grain procurement difficulties arose at the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 because of agriculture's inability to produce much of a surplus for the market, coupled with an increase in the nation's urban population. Capitalist elements in the city and the country immediately took advantage of this circumstance in their own interest. The kulaks would make contact with city merchants, hold onto their grain and inflate the price of bread. They managed to considerably influence market conditions and carry some of the middle peasantry with them. Lines formed for bread in the cities, and the urban poor were in a difficult situation. The class lines in the village became more pronounced, and the class struggle intensified. Along with economic measures to encourage the sale of bread, the party, relying on the poor masses and those of average means, took a number of



"emergency" steps. (Footnote 8) (KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..., "op cit., Moscow, Vol 4, 1984, p 317) The rural bourgeoisie stepped up their resistance and attempted to draw local peasants of average means dissatisfied with the extremes over their side. Counterrevolutionary elements in the city also became more active.

The working class had to counter the class enemy's resistance, the consumer mentality and the petty bourgeois attitude of "You build; we'll watch." with socialist purposefulness and rational activeness. In the situation of intensified class struggle, it was particularly important for the Communists to retain the "revolutionary tone," to guard against narrow-mindedness and "tailism," as the loss of socialist perspective was referred to at that time. It was with good reason that the 15th Communist Party Congress sharply criticized the position of those party members who would have liked "to float with the current, smoothly and calmly, without perspective, without looking to the future, to have a festive and celebratory mood everywhere, to have us hold formal meetings every day, to have applause all around, to have each of us by turn become honorary members of all sorts of presidiums." (Footnote 9) ("Pyatnadtsatyy syezd VKP(b). Stenograficheskiy otchet," Part 1, p 79) The party was also alarmed by instances of suppression of criticism and by the unexpected appearance of the phenomenon of "clam-ups"--people forced into the background by their own comrades not because they were incapable or did not know how to do the work, but for their conscientiousness and integrity on the job. These people, it was stated at the congress, work a year or two--work honorably--establish order, eliminate mismanagement and wastefulness, but in doing so they hurt the interests of a certain bunch of "Communist" rogues, disturb their peaceful existence. As a result, this "bunch of rogues" throw a monkey wrench into the work of these people and force them to "clam up."

It was stressed at the congress that "working without perspective, working without a rudder and without a sail--this is what the desire always to "float with the current leads to." The result: people first "become covered with mold, after which they become drab, after which they are sucked into the slime of Philistinism and then become common, ordinary Philistines. This is a path of real degeneration." (Footnote 10) (Ibid., p 80) And this dismal path resulted not only and not so much from the demoralizing influence of the bourgeois surroundings as from the loss of distinct perspective and objectives, from complacency and Communist arrogance.

The party's acute reaction to the intensification of the class struggle, to such phenomena as "grimaces of the day" and "plagues of daily life" (to use the terminology of the time), to case of degeneration and "economic acquisitiveness" on the part of some members, and to the "bureaucratic perversion" of individual elements in the state apparatus reflected the Communist vanguard's awareness of the need for significant social and psychological reform by the beginning of the socialist assault. Party documents and decisions of the soviets constantly reflected the idea that a concrete socialist perspective was of enormous mobilizing importance. (Footnote 11) (See, for example, "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh..., "op cit., Vol 3, p 429) "Work without a purpose," M.I. Kalinin said at the opening of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] session in November of 1926, "does not by itself

inspire the working man; it is not the work which inspires the man, but its purpose.... If the work which we are performing is separated from the spiritualization of socialism, it becomes mere mechanical, unattractive work...." (Footnote 12) (M.I. Kalinin, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], four-volume edition, Moscow, Vol 2, 1960, p 88)

The 5-year plan for development of the national economy of the USSR (the 15th VKP(b) Congress passed a special resolution on directives for producing the plan) was to do just that, to give the ordinary, day-to-day work this "socialist spiritualization," a goal-oriented purposefulness. The specific tasks contained even in the preliminary outline made it possible, among other things, to eliminate the abnormal situation in which, A. Milchakov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, stated in 1926 in connection with the results of the 7th Komsomol Congress, "we have pretty-sounding slogans such as 'Toward communism, toward a society in a land of milk and honey, where everything is right!' but our Komsomol members cannot say where we are right now." (Footnote 13) (MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, No 4, 1926, p 124)

The concept of a socialist "assault" properly oriented the mind of the masses and brought forth the problem of achieving a qualitatively new condition for the entire social organism. "A change is needed."—this universal formula, applied to diverse areas of public life, economics and culture, meant the following: the most important changes begin with the individual himself, and success depends primarily upon the awareness and the will of the Communist vanguard. The main question for everyone was whether he was prepared to work in the new way, to exert himself, to reject the accustomed, the solidly-rooted, that "made safe" by his accustomed way of living, thinking and functioning.

#### The "Launching Mechanism" for the Restructuring

The 1st Five-Year Plan officially began in October 1928. The process of restructuring, of improving the party's leadership style and methods and of enhancing the party's degree of mobilization in the socialist offensive was initiated immediately following the 15th VKP(b) Congress. The appeal by the VKP(b) Central Committee to all party members and to all workers to develop self-criticism (2 June 1928) was essentially the political program for the restructuring underway. It stated that "the working class, allied with extremely broad masses of the peasantry... has already begun developing the new construction process, the scope of which far exceeds the prewar scales." (Footnote 14) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh...", op cit., Vol 4, p 338) In this building process, it not only encountered growing pressure from international capitalism and resistance by the kulaks, "quiet sabotage" and betrayals on the part of certain groups of specialists, but also met with "extremely fierce bureaucracy on the part of our own state apparatus." Even "in the organizations closest to it—the trade unions and the party—it was further noted, "it is also coming up against putrefaction, degeneration of officials, dissipation, drunkenness and malicious lack of concern for the needs of the masses, haughty subservience and obsequiousness toward 'upper circles,' rudeness, stagnation, conservatism and routine performance. With a system suffering from such afflictions, in spite of its undeniable merits, it was impossible to conduct a successful struggle with adequate speed against the

resistance of the internal enemy, against sabotage conducted on the sly, and against the shortcomings of our own class—a muddling work pace on many sectors of our economic and cultural front." (Footnote 15) (Ibid., p 339)

In order to accomplish the tasks involved in the socialist reconstruction, the masses had to be involved most boldly and systematically, and the party and state apparatus had to be purified of passive elements. Criticism and self-criticism, "without respect to persons," from the top down and from the bottom up, were one of the key factors in the "launching mechanism" for the restructuring and for intensifying the creative activeness of the Communists and the masses of workers and peasants in the building of socialism. The party sharply condemned the practice which had developed in some places "of mitigating the responsibility of the Communists in the case of various administrative and judicial penalties," and reliance exclusively on bureaucratic administration and the issuing of orders. (Footnote 16) (Ibid., p 340) It is essential, the party decisions underscored, to strive to see that "the methods used by the Communists for influencing the masses consist primarily of exemplary and model performance by the party members themselves." (Footnote 17) (Ibid., p 340-341)

In 1928 and 1929 the VKP(b) Central Committee and local party organs investigated the performance of a number of party organizations and surveyed the workers to ascertain the mood of the workers and their attitude toward the party. "We will follow good party members and work with them, but we will not follow poor ones"—this was the dominant theme in the workers' comments. (Footnote 18) (PARTRABOTNIK, Leningrad, No 7, 1929, p 30) The VKP(b) Central Committee gave the local party organizations considerable assistance and increased its monitoring of their work. The VKP(b) Central Committee investigated 71 party organizations during the period between the 15th and 16th congresses. (Footnote 19) ("Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, Vol 4, Book 1, 1970, p 577) The data from these investigations indicated a profound knowledge of affairs at the sites on the part of the Central Committee. A number of party organizations were sternly criticized at meetings of the Politburo, Orgbyuro [Organizational Bureau] and Secretariat of the Central Committee. (Footnote 20) (Ibid.)

The extensive enlistment of outstanding workers into the party (more than 600,000 workers poured into its ranks between the 15th and 16th VKP(b) congresses, the purging from the party of demoralized elements and those which had discredited themselves, and the lancing of "boils," as it was described at that time, in the ranks of the nation's party organizations were aimed at enhancing the party's "degree of mobilization" in the socialist offensive. (Footnote 21) (Ibid., Moscow, Vol 4, Book 2, 1971, p 35) The party organizational work at all party levels, from the Central Committee to the basic cells, was improved. The party education system was also reformed, with new training programs focusing on a more in-depth study of Marxism-Leninism in close linkage with the praxis of socialist development. Work was performed to stimulate the performance of the trade union and Komsomol organizations. The responsibility of the Communists for the performance of their duties was universally increased.



Certain successes with respect to enhancing the social activeness of the Communists and the progressive segment of the working class were already taking shape by the beginning of the 1st Five-Year Plan. The November 1928 Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee arrived at the conclusion, however, that "a decisive improvement still needs to be achieved with respect to implementing the slogan of self-criticism and truly developing trade-union democracy." (Footnote 22) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", op cit., Vol 4, p 389) This improvement had to be achieved in a situation of increased difficulties: intensification of the class struggle, exacerbation of grain procurement problems, the rationing of food and manufactured goods for the urban population, and a decline of labor discipline at many enterprises, particularly among workers with links to the rural area. In this situation, a number of party members began to have feelings of opposition against the pace set for the socialist reforms. Certain Communists declared: "We have overdone it on industrialization." "Could we not develop industry more slowly?" And called for slowing the pace of collectivization. (Footnote 23) (F.M. Vaganov, "Pravyy uklon v VKP(b) i yego razgrom. (1928-1930 gg.)" [The Right-Wing Deviation in the VKP(b) and its Defeat, 1928-1930]), 2nd edition, enlarged and revised, Moscow, 1977, p 47) A right-wing deviation took shape in the party, which was objectively joined by all those who, as M.I. Kalinin put it, "have been bruised in our qualitative growth, by all those who could not stand the pace of socialist development." (Footnote 24) (M.I. Kalinin, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya," Vol 2, p 367) The pressing problems could not be resolved by slowing the pace of socialist reconstruction, however. The party condemned the right-wing deviation as "capitulation to difficulties pertaining to the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and the intensification of the class struggle in the USSR." (Footnote 25) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", op cit., Vol 4, p 431)

In the complex situation which existed at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929, every Communist and every aware worker was faced with the problem not just of improving the work, of conscientiously fulfilling his duties and increasing labor productivity, but also of combatting those things which were preventing "production from moving," which were preventing the fulfillment of plans. In June 1929, by decision of the Moscow Committee of the VKP(b), workers' conferences were held in all of Moscow's rayons to discuss the plan for the 1st five-year period. More than 200 delegates spoke in the debates, and the presidiums received hundreds of written comments. The Moscow Committee's summarization of the conference data (itself of interest as a method of registering the feelings of the working masses) made it possible to arrive at some important conclusions. (Footnote 26) (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, fund 17, inventory 69, file 689, sheets 20-33) Among other things, it was determined that a certain part of the workers were prepared to organize the work in the new way, to establish order in production and to rebuff those who were resisting the changes. "We have to do more than just make certain that we do not have a single absentee in 5 years," one of the delegates said. "We must eliminate all absenteeism in 1 year. We need to combat drunkenness the same way, so as to make our production as pure as crystal. Only in this situation will we properly fulfill the five-year plan." (Footnote 27) (Ibid., sheet 28)



How should this struggle be waged, though? In what ways and by what means? The answers to these questions and ways to further develop the restructuring were not found at once. It became clear as early as the end of 1928 that such forms of creative activeness by the working class as a campaign of self-criticism, production conferences and a struggle to make production more efficient, which had played a positive role in the initial period of industrialization, were inadequate for advancing further.

A December 1928 report by the Information Section of the VKP(b) Central Committee titled "Preliminary Results of the Re-elections to the Bureaus of Factory and Plant Cells" stated: "The slogan of self-criticism received attention in many of the speeches. The main tenor of the speeches was that we do a lot of criticizing, but the results (realization of the self-criticism) are few. Here are a few typical statements: 'We need to end the campaign for self-criticism. That time has past. It is time to put self-criticism into effect.' 'We do a lot of criticizing, but we want something to come out of the words, want our opinions to be realized....' (Footnote 28) (Ibid., file 556, sheet 92) Often, there was a "gap" between the initiative of the progressive workers and its implementation, and the filling of that gap hardly depended upon the workers themselves. In many cases, inattention to the proposals, excuses of "objective circumstances," bureaucratic complacency and administrative formalism constrained initiative, reduced activeness and eroded labor enthusiasm. A sort of "organizational vacuum" took shape in production, right at the work stations. A form of "direct action" was needed which would enable the party to gain control of the most active and aware group of the workers, and a mechanism was needed for the direct conversion of the social and psychological willingness of advanced segments of the working class into political action to improve production.

It was a matter of finding ways of developing the labor activeness (but those born of life itself and not thought up in the offices of theoreticians) which would make it possible to impart a clearly defined political meaning and class orientation to the concrete production activities of the working class.

The publication of V.I. Lenin's article "How Should the Competition be Organized?" in January 1929 stimulated this search. The movement of the shock workers began to spread rapidly, the first tendrils of which emerged as early as the beginning of the '20s as a new kind of socialist competition. This became a mass movement following the appeal issued at the 16th VKP(b) Conference, "To All Workers and Laboring Peasants of the Soviet Union," in April 1929 (Footnote 29) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiykh i resheniyakh...", op cit., Vol 4, p 494-498), and the decree issued by the VKP(b) Central Committee, "On Socialist Competition at Factories and Plants," in May 1929. (Ibid., pp 508-510) The shock labor brigades born of the wave of criticism in 1928-1929 actually became a form of "practical criticism" of shortcomings, of unification and consolidation of Communists and progressive workers oriented toward change for purposes of waging a concrete struggle to improve production, and an effective means of drawing extremely broad groups of workers into aware creativity. A turning point with enormous social repercussions became clearly apparent in the political and labor activeness of the masses. Stories circulated in Moscow about shock-labor brigades, "incredible, impassioned people who voluntarily work two shifts in a row," A. Malyshkin wrote about those times in the novel

"Lyudi iz zakholustya" [People From the Backwoods]. In the writer's apt expression, "the core of life, its dazzling hub existed" there, in the shock-labor brigades. (Footnote 31) (A. Malyshkin, "Rasskazy i ocherki. Lyudi iz zakholustya" [Tales and Sketches: People From the Backwoods], Moscow, 1985, pp 268, 269) Labor heroism on a mass scale--and in peacetime: this was a first!

The initiators of the shock-labor brigades, at least the first of them, were most frequently workers themselves, relying on the support of the party organizations. The shock workers were united by a single goal, a desire to live conscientiously, a difficult struggle for their ideals, and opposition to those who did not want change. The members of these brigades knew very well who was capable of what and could precisely determine the best way to accomplish a job and soberly assess the possibilities. The strength of those participating in the brigades (they were called different things at that time: brigade members, shock workers, even brigadiers) lay not only in the fact that they put their all into the concrete, day-to-day work. The shock labor, particularly in the initial stages of its existence, was a movement by determined, bold and selfless people. The attitude encountered in historiography that the duties of the shock workers consisted of the "ABCs" of production discipline and labor conscientiousness is therefore incomplete, is taken out of the specific historical context. Under the conditions of the 1st Five-Year Plan, the most elementary duties--not to be late to work, to fulfill the plan--constituted first of all a specific social position and should be viewed primarily from this standpoint. It took more than merely the desire and the ability to work well to become a shock worker; one also had to spare no effort to overcome the "resistance of the milieu," to break down psychological barriers, fixed patterns in the minds and the conduct of the backward part of the workers, and petty bourgeois prejudices. The class enemy tried to take advantage of such things, frequently resorting to open threats against the shock workers. "Mikheyeva and Sizova! You... You run on a lot about socialist competition. We ask you not to conclude brigade contracts.... And to truly reject the brigades. If you do not listen and do not reject them, then we will do our best to stop you and break up your brigades somehow, keep you from working as a brigade.... We will not work, and we will not let you work."--the first progressive workers sometimes received anonymous letters like this. (Footnote 32) ("XVI syezd Vsesoyuznoy Kommunisticheskoy partii (b), 26 iyunya-13 iyulya 1930 g." [The 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), 26 June-13 July 1930], stenographic record, 2-volume edition, Moscow, Vol 1, 1935, pp 117-118) This resistance constituted a social danger: the statement quoted was cited, not without reason, at the 16th Party Congress.

The social and psychological reasoning behind the shock-labor brigades was that by joining together it was easier to withstand the "resistance of the milieu," the doubts of the skeptics, the direct threats of the self-seekers and loafers, conservatism and stagnation. At first these reasons frequently predominated even over the economic and production factors. Naturally, the first shock workers had many questions. "What are the brigade's goals? What, specifically, should we strive for? What are we to achieve? We had only vague ideas about these things. Only one thing was clear: we had to work as a group, to help one another, to work better and harder than anyone," recalled

K. Vorobey, one of the participants in the first shock-labor brigade in Leningrad. (Footnote 33) (K. Vorobey, "Odin-za vsekh, vse-za odnogo. Iz istorii pervoy udarnoy brigady na zavode 'Bolshevik'. Rasskaz brigadir" [One For All and All For One: From the History of the First Shock-Labor Brigade at the Bolshevik Plant (A Brigade Member's Account)], Leningrad, 1961, pp 21-22)

The attitude of the shock workers was based on an understanding of the social significance of their labor efforts, a special, selfless devotion to the work, its "socialist inspiration," and the knowledge that one was not merely standing at a machine tool and mechanically turning a handle, but that every move "is a definite, revolutionary act." (Footnote 34) ("Delo chesti. Ustnyye rasskazy rabochikh o sotsialisticheskoy sorevnovanii" [A Matter of Honor: Moral Accounts of the Socialist Competition by the Workers], recorded by S.I. and M.A. Mirer, Moscow, 1931, p 108) This is precisely why an enormous number of those joining the party at the beginning of the '30s were shock workers. (76 percent of the factory and transport workers accepted into the VKP(b) in 1931 were shock workers, for example). (Footnote 35) ("Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," Vol 4, Book 2, p 88) The strength of the personal example set by the shock workers and the socialist competition became the main means of educating new workers--people of rural origin and from the urban petty bourgeoisie. The process which M. Gorkiy referred to as restoring to health inveterate individualists and filling them with the labor energy of the progressive workers proceeded considerably more rapidly in the situation of labor enthusiasm. (Footnote 36) (M. Gorkiy, "Sobr. soch." [Collected Works], 30-volume edition, Moscow, Vol 26, 1953, p 129) With increasing frequency, people from the "sticks," having learned "what great things were happening in the country," would participate alongside with regular workers and youth from proletarian families in the socialist competition. (Footnote 37) ("Govoryat stroiteli sotsializma. Vospominaniya uchastnikov sotsialisticheskogo stroitelstva v SSSR." [The Builders of Socialism Speak. Reminiscences of Participants in Socialist Construction in the USSR]; Moscow, 1959, p 113) By the end of 1929 the competition embraced around 65 percent of the workers, and approximately 29 percent of the workers were shock workers. (Footnote 38) ("Istoriya sovetskogo rabocheho klassa" [History of the Soviet Working Class], six-volume edition; Vol 2, "The Working Class--The Leading Force in the Building of a Socialist Society, 1921-1937"; Moscow, 1984, p 265) Due in great part to their selfless labor, the party succeeded in accomplishing a truly "Great breakthrough" in the minds of the masses, which made it possible to "cover" serious deficiencies in the economic machinery, to overcome the passive resistance of backward workers and direct sabotage by the class enemies, and to achieve the first successes in the socialist reconstruction.

#### We Must Be Able to Consolidate the Upsurge of Enthusiasm

These successes certainly did not mean that the restructuring had been completed. On the contrary, it had entered the most crucial stage. The inadequacy of the accumulated range of organizational methods, moral and material incentives was detected as early as 1930. The achievements of the first years of the five-year



period revealed new problems and exacerbated unresolved ones. It was necessary to use the upsurge of labor enthusiasm in the working class with maximum effectiveness, to consolidate the breakthrough achieved and place it onto an economic and organizational foundation. An objective economic analysis indicated the need for decisive changes--the 16th VKP(b) Congress in June and July of 1930 mentioned alarming cases of failure to meet the qualitative requirements of the economic plan--and a large number of negative social and psychological "symptoms," which were manifested particularly clearly as a result of the elimination of unemployment, which had been accomplished by that time. (Footnote 39) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh..., opcit., Moscow, Vol 5, 1984, pp 149-150) In the situation of guaranteed employment, the workers had a choice, and people responded to errors in labor organization, poor housing conditions and supply shortages by quitting. There was even an expression: "voting by walking." The progressively worsening personnel turnover, which posed serious difficulties to the development of industry, in need of stable and disciplined production teams, also indicated that the workers were "voting" for order to be established, were reacting against the turning of "assault" methods into crash-program methods.

The turnover of the work force and violations of labor discipline were a direct result of the retention of the doctrine of wage-leveling, which was increasingly in conflict with the progressive development of the productive forces. Wage-leveling interpretations of socialism were actually a justification for mismanagement, lack of control and strict accounting. When everyone earns the same, you see, the calculations are limited to two mathematical procedures--multiply and divide--and this was easier for many of those in charge.

The wage rate reform of 1928 was the main equalizer during the first years of the five-year period. Designed to eliminate significant differences in the wages of workers with different skill levels (these differences were sometimes 10-fold), to regulate rates, it objectively equalized the amounts paid for skilled and unskilled labor, greatly limited extra earnings, and increased the orientation toward payment by time at the expense of payment by the job. The guaranteed wage produced parasitic attitudes: one did not have to make any special effort to receive it. "I have to tell you what the wage-rate is doing locally," one of the participants at an AUCCTU conference in 1930 said, "tell you about the attitude of the workers. They feel that they are receiving the wage-rate just for coming to the enterprise." (Footnote 40) (Central State Archives of the October Revolution of the USSR, fund 5451, inventory 14, file 160, sheet 2) Given the great differences in wage-rates at different enterprises and in different branches of industry, a worker frequently thought not about professional growth or increasing labor productivity, but about finding an enterprise where the wage-rate for the same job was higher. The increase in personnel turnover caused by this was at first restrained by purely ideological factors (the movement of the workers to get one another to remain at enterprises on their own began in 1930, for example) and by administrative steps.

The situation which had developed at the beginning of 1931, however, demanded immediate and decisive action to improve the economic system, eliminate the wage-leveling and absence of personal responsibility on the job, and to alter



the reforms of labor organization, the personnel training system and the wage-rates in effect. The labor "assault" and "production battle" tested during the initial part of the five-year period as a means of overcoming difficulties proved little effective for resolving the problems involved in organizing production at the new and remodeled enterprises and in mastering the new and advanced equipment. The lack of conformity between the new equipment and the old, "assault" operating methods became particularly apparent during the start-up period for the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, one of the first achievements of the five-year plan. Built extremely rapidly, the enterprise simply could not be brought up to rated capacity. The people worked tirelessly, but no tractors left the assembly line. "I cannot understand it! For the life of me, I cannot understand it!" one of the enthusiastic participants in the construction project said. "We run around, fuss and fret, do everything we can, and still no tractors." (Footnote 41) ("Lyudi Stalingradskogo Traktornogo" [People of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant], Moscow, 1933, p 77) What appeared indisputable to many until quite recently, turned out to be not so indisputable at all. Everyone, from the worker to the director, began to understand that "technology is not to be conquered by sudden attacks alone." (Footnote 42) (Ibid., p 312)

"The Bolsheviks must master the technology" is how the main objective of the impending restructuring was defined. And mastering the technology involved resolutely restructuring the management system, bringing it into maximum conformity with the new conditions, taking the next step in the combining of the worker's enthusiasm and his personal interest, and altering the attitude toward highly skilled labor. A substantial psychological restructuring and a recognition of the new problems and ways to resolve them were to precede the practical accomplishment of these tasks. In the situation of accelerated reconstruction, however, a number of soviet and party leaders acquired incorrect views on the existing situation: underestimation of the objective nature of the laws of socialism, an increase in management by directive, the ignoring of the objective basis for planning, and a diminution of the role of economic self-financing. (Footnote 43) (Yu.A. Polyakov, V.P. Dmitrenko and N.V. Shcherban, "Novaya ekonomicheskaya politika: Razrabotka i osushchestvleniye" [The New Economic Policy: Development and Implementation], Moscow, 1982, p 144) The conference of managerial workers convened by the VKP(b) Central Committee in June of 1931 was devoted to the elimination of these concepts. It defined a program for improving the performance of industry--the then famous "six conditions." The program centered around steps to eliminate wage-leveling and the absence of personal responsibility, to strengthen self-financing, mechanize labor and build up mass cadres of workers and specialists, and a switch to the organized recruitment of workers. The most important focus of the party's work was on accomplishing these tasks and explaining them to the masses.

What was the party press writing about at that time? Where was it focusing the attention of the Communists? Primarily on precisely understanding the new problems and on the need for new work methods. The leadership style of the so-called "bad commissars," workers who attempted to substitute simple bureaucratic rule, crash-programs and sudden assaults for regulation of the complex economic processes, was sharply condemned. The party made the task one of mastering the actual production processes, acquiring technical and economic knowledge and achieving a high level of professionalism. The VKP(b) Central Committee demanded that the focus of party and mass work be moved to the shop

and the brigade. Steps were also taken to improve the training of skilled cadres, and a new wage-rate reform was begun, which struck a major blow at wage-leveling.

A new "organizational consciousness" was being shaped. What had only yesterday been mandatory, honorable and essential, now evoked a different regard and suffered a sort of devaluation. And it was certainly not that labor heroism had subsided or that the romantic aspect of the construction or the zeal for it had disappeared. It was simply that the concept of the heroic had itself changed: "They are not heroes because they remain at the shop after their shift ends: this demonstrates only our inability to organize the work. Their superiority lies in the fact that they have mastered the new production technology by working painstakingly, methodically and persistently." (Footnote 44) ("Lyudi Stalingradskogo traktornogo," p 282)

The labor organization and socialist competition praxis was substantially improved. The traditional shock-labor brigades constituted primarily the ideal means of accomplishing "crash-programs" in urgent situations, and the elimination of hitches in production or at a construction project was a sort of end result of their work. The performance of the shock workers was frequently used to cover up deficiencies caused by mismanagement. And their understanding of their purpose corresponded with this. "The shock aspect of this work," workers at the Leningrad Plant imeni K. Marx, for example, believed, "is the ability to maneuver, to rapidly and flexibly shift resources to eliminate bottlenecks." (Footnote 45) (B. Reyn, "Potomstvennyye proletarii" [Hereditary Proletarians], Leningrad, 1930, p 26) Something different was required for mastering the newly created production capacity: a systematic approach, regular rhythm and efficient labor organization. This made it necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the brigades by developing in them elements of self-management, enhancing collectivism, and eliminating the situation in which "the production performance of individual brigade members are not monitored by the entire group of brigade members...." (Footnote 46) (M. Eskin, "Osnovnyye puti razvitiya sotsialisticheskikh form truda" [The Main Ways to Develop the Socialist Forms of Labor], 2nd edition, enlarged and revised, Leningrad, 1936, p 69) In a number of cases the shock labor brigades were therefore turned into production collectives and communes, in which moral and ideological motives for unification received substantial financial bolstering in the form of collective wages. The shared earnings, the "common pot," which depended upon the output of the entire brigade, helped to strengthen mutual monitoring and mutual assistance, the rapid training of newcomers in production, and ultimately, more concerned participation in the work of the collective by the brigade members. "We arrive right on time, even a little early, because we cannot forget that the work is now being performed not on an individual basis, but collectively, that not some certain worker, but the collective, will receive the earnings.... The solidarity and comradely togetherness constantly encourage us, make us work as briskly as possible," said one of the workers at an AUCCTU conference. (Footnote 47) (Central State Archives of the October Revolution of the USSR, fund 5451, inventory 14, file 288, sheet 12)

The councils of the communes and collectives, and general meetings functioned actively. The equal distribution of earnings was able to draw all of the brigade members up to a certain level of labor productivity, and the initial

success of communes and collectives was due to this. The continued development of production and improvement of the workers' skills were retarded by the wage-leveling, however. "Things went well at first, but recently there have been arguments about someone doing more, someone else doing less, and everyone has cooled off somewhat," it was stated at a conference of Leningrad's shock-labor brigades and communes. (Footnote 48) (Ibid., file 306, sheet 14) The extremes which had developed--the "solid collectivization" of the brigades and the mass administrative implantation of communes, they wrote at the time--had made the situation worse. In March 1931 the party Central Committee instructed the appropriate agencies "to study the performance of the production communes in order to learn how well they have justified themselves as a form of socialist competition." (Footnote 49) ("Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika" [The Party Worker's Handbook], Moscow, Issue 8, 1934, p 417)

The large-scale dissemination of the new form of labor organization and socialist competition--the conversion of the shock-labor brigades into self-financing brigades (the first such brigade, headed by V.I. Kapkov, came into being at the Nevskiy Machine-Building Plant imeni V.I. Lenin in Leningrad in 1931)--was begun with the active support of party organizations in 1931. On 11 September 1931 the Supreme Council of the National Economy of the USSR and the AUCCTU passed a decree on self-financing brigades, recognizing them as the most efficient form of labor organization.

In order to avoid wage-leveling, these brigades would be converted to payment by the job, and bonuses were established for conserving raw and processed materials and fuel in order to give each member an interest in the end result and provide the collective with economic controls. The bonuses were distributed by the collective itself, based on skill and the quality of the work. The brigade could deprive individual members of bonuses for absenteeism, defective work or over-consumption of raw materials, and increase the earnings of the best workers by 25 percent. (Footnote 50) (N.S. Maslov, "Proizvoditelnost truda i zarabotnaya plata v promyshlennosti SSSR. (1928-1932 gg.)" [Labor Productivity and Wages in the Industry of the USSR, 1928-1932], Moscow, 1983, pp 74-75) This is how they attempted to resolve the conflict between the need to assess each worker's personal labor contribution and the performance of all the brigade members, which is directed toward the end result.

The establishment of the self-financing brigades involved further expanding the rights and the possibilities for self-government in the primary production collectives. The adoption of collective decisions on bonuses and the development within the brigade of output and finance plans, which defined its reserves and capabilities, helped to accomplish this. In certain cases, the self-financing brigades were given a contract for specific jobs. "The value of the self-financing brigade," the 1st All-Union Conference of Self-Financing Brigades underscored, "and its uniqueness lie in the fact that it is the self-financing brigade which produces a truly thrifty manager in production and turns the worker into an aware, real manager at his job." (Footnote 51) (Central State Archives of the October Revolution of the USSR, fund 5451, inventory 16, file 539, sheet 7) A total of 40 percent of the workers in big industry were united in self-financing brigades by the end of 1932. (Footnote 52) ("Istoriya sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki SSSR" [History of the Socialist Economy of the USSR], 7-volume edition, Moscow, Vol 3, 1977, p 142)



And so, the foundation was laid at the end of the 1st Five-Year Plan for a new phase of economic, social and psychological restructuring, now oriented toward the mastery of the production capacity which had been created and acceleration of the fulfillment of national economic plans. Despite the fact that many problems involved in adjusting the economic system had still not been resolved and a number of reforms had not been completed, and despite the enormous difficulties, which could only be overcome with a considerable effort and sacrifices, the industrial output volume more than doubled during the five-year period.

The party outlined plans for the 2nd five-year period. The completion of the "technical reconstruction of the entire national economy" was to be the main and crucial economic task. (Footnote 53) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", op cit., Moscow, Vol 6, 1985, p 106) The mastery of the new technology and the new equipment, and the new production operations was the main requirement for achieving this goal. (Footnote 54) (Ibid., p 110) It was essential to define more effective means and methods of stimulating the human factor and ways of enhancing labor productivity under those conditions. This search, the focus of which shifted under the 2nd Five-Year Plan toward the extensive use of individual piece-rate wages, ended with the greatest upsurge of labor enthusiasm in the masses of the prewar period--the birth and spread of the Stakhanov Movement. (Footnote 55) (For more details read V. Kozlov and O. Khlevnyuk, "The Human Factor in the Development of the Economy: Lessons of the Thirties," KOMMUNIST, No 2, 1985)

The new and fundamental ideas about the possibility of accelerating development based on the initiative and creativity of the masses as a natural pattern of socialism, and about how a rapid and truly mass advance in all areas of public life can begin only with socialism were thus tested and enriched with experience. During the years of the 1st Five-Year Plan, the party worked out many effective methods for responding to new problems, to "breakdowns" in the economic system. An "organizational vacuum" was discovered in production, and it was filled with a new form of labor organization and socialist competition--the shock-labor brigade. The work methods and management logic, oriented toward "zeal for construction," had exhausted themselves, and they were substantially altered during the period of mastering the modernized equipment base. The wage-rate system was "working" poorly, encouraging wage-leveling, and one wage-rate system was rapidly replaced with another, improved one. All of this experience indicates that a social and psychological restructuring in a situation of society's transition to a relatively new state is not a matter of a once-only, sudden change in the attitudes of the masses and leading cadres, but a dynamically developed process organically contained in the overall stream of acceleration.

Turning to past experience and noting at times a certain similarity of historical situations, and frequently "reading" in the past that which has been suggested by "events of today," the historian is frequently tempted to present his observations in the form of various kinds of practical recommendations. It cannot be said that the authors of this article did not experience such a desire. Learning from the past does not mean merely repeating its errors and making maximum use of solutions already found, however, although this is extremely important. We believe that it is even more important to understand the logic behind the solutions, the specific historical ways of coordinating and uniting the efforts of individual people for the achievement of the common



goal. History, after all, is "nothing other than the activities of an individual pursuing his goals" (Footnote 56) (K. Marx' and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 2, p 102), and it is comprised "of just that, the actions of individuals." (Footnote 57) (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 159) The social psychology of the masses and the moral consciousness of the Communist vanguard reproduce and reflect in a special form the conflicts of social development and urgent social problems, and always act as a sort of catalyst for social-reform actions. This process is determined by the objective laws governing the advance of the communist formation, but only the political will of the party, the precise formulation of its goals and the tasks involved in effecting urgently needed changes, and its day-to-day practical efforts are capable of giving it organization and focus.

An awareness of the objective conflicts between the communist ideal and the hopes and aspirations of people, and the reality has been a powerful social and psychological accelerator of social reforms at all stages in the building of socialism and communism. When this conflict is reflected in the form of realistic, specific tasks, it contains enormous potential energy for direct transformational action by the masses of millions of people, directed toward improvement of the socialist society. Any errors made in the definition of the tasks, however, Utopianism or narrow over-emphasis on the practical aspect in defining the goals, reliance on spontaneous progression, and attempts to pass off the desired as the reality invariably produce a situation in which the social and psychological energy of the masses is not embodied in practical action or is wasted.

The scope and scale of the historic reforms are directly dependent upon constantly enlarging the mass of people for whom these reforms become a conscious cause. Once people have reached the level of activeness and political maturity, however, they must not be regarded as forming an endless supply from which we can draw endlessly, without constantly replenishing it. The Communist must not look upon the initiative and creativity of the masses as a factor capable of covering up all errors and blunders or forget that the people's trust must be gained over and over again and constantly upheld with precisely tuned political decisions and actions.

The dialectically complex problem of shaping the qualities of "aware historical figures" in the Soviet people has had its ups and downs, its ebbs and flows, periods of rapid spurts forward and times of latent build-up of human energy. The unjustified prolongation of the "work of waiting" has invariably resulted in stagnation in the social organism, the retention and intensification of conflicts in all areas of public life--not just in economics and politics but in the public awareness, in the social psychology of the masses--obliterated the enthusiasm and impaired the moral health of the people. And vice versa: periods of accelerated advance have invariably been accompanied by the mass shift by people to the camp of aware doers and creators. Expanding the individual's opportunities for applying his creative energies and abilities, these "astral hours" in Soviet history have produced a heightened feeling of social optimism in the people.

The turning points in the Soviet society's development, those which have determined the prospects for its advance and the nation's historical destiny, have always been preceded by a sort of "concretion" of conflicts indicating the historical need for change, and frequently by the development of situations about which V.I. Lenin wrote in his work "Velikiy pochin" [The Great Initiative]: "Consequently, we have a sort of vicious circle: in order to raise labor productivity, we must be saved from starvation, and in order to be saved from starvation, we need to raise labor productivity." (Footnote 58) (Ibid., Vol 39, p 21) The greatest of enthusiasm and selflessness, and "heroic initiative" on the part of the Communist vanguard, Lenin stressed, provide the way out of such situations, the way to break this kind of "vicious circles." When the party began carrying out the urgent social and economic programs, it turned to and still turns to experience in the work of the progressive segments of society, primarily the working class. And the appeal for change is always accompanied by a strengthening of the basic cell of the production collectives and expansion of the rights and functional independence of the production brigades and individual enthusiasts among the workers, who are given broad opportunities for realizing their need for creative labor, for development of their activeness, at turning points in the society's development. Socialist competition has been and continues to be highly important in this respect. Not only are progressive technical decisions worked out in the course of the competition, a fact which ordinarily draws the main attention, but new forms of labor organization and production management as well. Socialist competition, which has always been initiated by the progressive segments of the working class, has objectively functioned also as a sort of "uniter" of innovators.

The involvement of broad masses of people in aware, historical creativity at all stages of Soviet history has been determined by the dialectics of the enthusiasm and personal interest, a brilliant example of which was provided by the 1st five-year period. Enthusiasm never functioned as some sort of "pure awareness," subordinating the personal needs of people to itself, and personal interest has never been limited to narrowly defined material interest. Naturally, in the situation of forced industrialization and intensive growth of the nation's productive forces, the first component in the "enthusiasm plus economic calculation" system carried a considerable "extra load," frequently "performing the work" of the second. Reducing the history of the Soviet people's labor feat during the years of industrialization--and during other stages in the nation's history as well--exclusively to problems of labor enthusiasm substantially impoverishes our concepts of the process and produces a perfectly legitimate distrust of this kind of illumination of history in the young generation.

Enthusiasm has always been an indispensable means of realizing the active and conscious individual's need for self-assertion, and personal interest in its highest forms has stood out as man's need to reveal his nature to the fullest possible degree and has, in turn, invariably generated enthusiasm. The experience of the 1st Five-Year Plan and the entire historical path traveled by our people convince one that the source of happiness and optimism does not lie in the absence of difficulties and obstacles, but in the successful overcoming of these, in a confidence imprinted in the individual that advancement is possible and inevitable.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", "Voprosy istorii KPSS", 1987

## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### ISLAMIC SOCIALISM CRITICIZED IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON in Tajik No 10, 1986 carries on pages 89-94 an 1,800-word article, "'Islamic Socialism': Criticism of the Social and Economic Concepts" ("Sotsializmi islomi': tanqidi kontseptsiyahoi sotsialiyyu iqtisodi"), by T. Mamadnazarbekov. Islamic socialism is based on a religious and nationalist interpretation of the history and development of contemporary society. It is one of the "clerical conceptions of socialism," which exist in the context of the increasing struggle over the developing countries' choice of a path of development. The fundamental principle of Islamic socialism is that Islam embodies socialist ideas.

The spread of non-Marxist forms of socialism occurs in the context of the economic backwardness of Muslim countries. Twentieth-century Muslim states did not develop a modern working class. In Muslim countries the dominant class was linked to pre-capitalist and small-holder strata. The bourgeoisie was small. Capitalism was discredited because it could not solve its own contradictions. The political leadership of those countries turned to socialism. Certain principles of socialism were used to form Islamic socialism. This was declared the state doctrine in Egypt under Nasser in the 1960's, in Pakistan under Bhutto in the 1970's, and in Libya under Qadhafi in the 1980's.

Islamic socialism is a petty bourgeois outgrowth of the national liberation movement. It seeks national economic revival while respecting private property. Like any non-proletarian type of socialism it protects the exploiter as well as the exploited and especially protects the small-scale producer and property owner. It aims to protect the bourgeois system but in the form of a socially just society without the evils of capitalism. However, the attempt to establish social justice based on the Koran "is completely without foundation." Islamic socialism's ideas have both an anti-imperialist leaning and a reactionary, anticommunist leaning. Therefore, there are many different kinds of Islamic socialism.

### TAJIKS' CONVERSION TO ISLAM CRITICIZED IN STORY

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe ADABIYOT VA SAN'AT in Tajik on 25 September 1986 carries on pages 8-9 a 1,300-word short story, "Life Giving" ("Umrddod"), by A. Istad. The story is set in Marv early in the Islamic era. The prayer

leader of the city's main mosque and the governor confer about their shared concern that part of the local population remains Zoroastrian. In addition to those who remain openly Zoroastrian, there are those who remain loyal in private but pretend to be Muslims and participate in public prayers. The governor's concern includes the belief that the conversion of the whole population to Islam will promote order. The governor urges that readings from the Koran be done in Persian rather than Arabic so that people can understand this. The prayer leader opposes this, officially for esthetic and religious reasons but in reality because he fears that if Persian-speakers hear the Koran in their own language they will be able to perceive its contradictions and therefore will distance themselves from Islam.

The article treats Zoroastrianism positively. It is associated with patriotism. The Zoroastrian heritage is linked to the academy at Gundishapur, praised in the story as a place where doctors and scholars not only from Iran but also from India, Tibet, and Greece all worked. The story treats positively the Sasanid Empire, which was ended by the Arab conquest of Iran.

The story centers on the efforts to convert one prominent local citizen. However, he decides to remain a Zoroastrian on the grounds that it is right while Islam is characterized by lies and slavery. This character points out that if Islam were the true faith it would not be spread by violent means. He says that falsehood is a greater enemy than the Arab army and that the worst lie of all is committed by those Zoroastrian converts who repudiate their family's name and adopt Arab names. This character concludes that the most important duty is not to forget the ways of the true faith.

/9599

CSO: 1830/418



## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### TAJIK CULTURAL-ETHNIC HISTORY, UNITY CONSIDERED

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe SADOI SHARQ in Tajik No 8, 1986 carries on pages 66-88 an article titled "The Meaning of the Word 'Tajik'" ("Ma"noi kalimai tojik"). The article consists of two parts, a 4,600-word essay from 1942 by Sadriddin Ayni, "The Meaning of the Word 'Tajik' in Dictionaries and Its Usage in the Writings of Eastern Writers and the Places This Word Appears" ("Ma"nii [sic] kalimai 'tojik' dar lughatho va joi korfarmudai on dar ta"lifoti muallifoni sharq va baromadgohi in kalima") on pages 70-86, and an introductory 1,400-word essay by his son, Kamol Ayni, "The Meaning of the Word Tajik" ("Ma"noi kalimai tojik") on pages 66-70.

The Kamol Ayni introduction states that his father wrote an earlier essay on this subject in 1940. The elder Ayni's concern was that much important work on Tajik literature and culture was beginning at that time. He thought that this called for a brief piece on the word "Tajik" and the Tajiks' millenium of civilization and literature. Kamol Ayni says that this essay was a weapon against such anti-Soviet manifestations as Pan-Islam, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Iranianism, and national narrowness or localism. The 1940 version of the essay is lost, but K. Ayni found the 1942 version in an archive and edited it for publication. He offers some thoughts on why his father addressed this subject during the Great Patriotic War: as an inspiration to patriotism during wartime; an aid to understanding the results of foreign conquest and the destruction of several thousand years of Tajik civilization; and to aid the awakening of the people and the people's self-awareness.

The Sadriddin Ayni essay makes the point that the Arabs ruled the central Tajik lands (Khorasan and the land between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya) for part of the Middle Ages. As foreign exploiters, the Arabs tried to eliminate the Tajiks language, literature, and culture. However, the Tajiks were a cultured and patriotic people, who sustained their government, culture, and language through various rebellions. S. Ayni states that after the Arab conquest, the "whole Tajik-Persian people" remained "one nation" in terms of their language, literature, and culture.

A section of the S. Ayni essay attacks various interpretations which have claimed that the Tajiks have non-Persian origins. "Arab chauvinists" could not accept the reality of their loss of power in Central Asia, Khorasan, and Iran. They also could not accept the fact that Arab settlers lost their privileged status there or that the Tajiks were proud of their own culture and

literary language. To assuage their own national pride, these Arabs concocted the theory that the Tajiks' ancestors were Arabs. Chauvinists of other nations have concocted similar theories. Thus an [unnamed] Ottoman Turkish chauvinist claimed that several great medieval Tajik writers were Turks. Ayni asserts that in the 8th century the Tajiks were a Persian-speaking people and not a Turkish tribe, as a 19th-century Turkish source claimed. Furthermore, at this time the Tajiks of Bukhara did not know Arabic, which Ayni cites as proof that the Tajiks could not have been of Arab origin. Therefore, the Tajiks of the city of Bukhara were allowed to use a Persian translation of the Koran for their prayers at the main mosque.

A Turkish source stated that the Tajiks lacked martial spirit. S. Ayni says that the Tajiks were not savage killers like the Mongols but did fight bravely in defense of their fatherland against Alexander the Great and the Arabs. The Tajiks of Khojand fought the Mongols after the Turkish ruler of the area had fled. Tajiks also rebelled against the Bukharan emirate. Tajiks fought in a peasant militia which joined with the Red Army in defeating the Basmachi. Ayni concedes that the Tajiks were less war-like than the "conquering nomads." However, he insists that this was not because the Tajiks were less courageous but because the enemies were extremely brutal and bloodthirsty, showing a hostility toward civilization and humanity. He says that this is similar to the Nazis' savagery toward all people.

According to S. Ayni, the first use of the term "Tajik" in a written source dates from the 12th century but the term existed even earlier. It was first applied to Persian speakers in Central Asia and Khorasan in "very ancient times" and later to all Persian speakers. The peoples who were first called Tajiks after the conversion to Islam were the sedentary peoples of Central Asia, Khorasan, and northern Afghanistan, who for centuries before the conversion had lived in cities and villages as artisans and farmers. Iranian writers from earliest times to the 19th century routinely used "Tajik" for the Persian speaker of Iran. After the conversion to Islam, New Persian arose in the land between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya and in Khorasan. Later it spread to all Persian speakers.

/9599

CSO: 1834/404

## RELIGION

### ARRESTED MULLAH PREACHED FORMATION OF ISLAMIC STATE IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 14 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article titled "Tears of Repentance," by Aziz Sanginov, a special reporter for the newspaper. Forty-year-old Abdullo Saidov worked in the Inter-City Bureau of Technical Inventory in Kurgan-Tyubinskaya Oblast but was also a mullah. He was tried for slandering the Soviet state and society. According to author Sanginov, Saidov was a "zealous propagandist" for Wahhabism.

By the age of 5 or 6 Saidov knew the Koran by heart. As a child he learned about the tenets of Islam and stories about Arab leaders and the first four caliphs. His father, Nuriddin Saidov, was the one who taught him.

The elder Saidov was a sovkhos director, who for years performed his duties responsibly. When he retired, he voluntarily turned in his party card to the raykom, saying that he had no further use for it. He became a mullah. Yet this was not a sudden transformation; he was a party member when he taught his son Abdullo about Islam. He taught his son not only religious doctrine but also how to wear a masque.

Eventually Abdullo Saidov became a mullah. He taught students about Islam in the village of Tadzhikabad under the nose of the village soviet's ispolkom. The then-head of the village soviet testified at the trial that the village authorities knew about Saidov's activities but did nothing.

Saidov has two brothers, Asadullo Nuriddinov and Ato Saidov; one is the deputy secretary of the party organization of the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz; the other is head of one of the sovkhos' farms and member of the control commission dealing with the observance of laws regarding religious ceremonies. Abdullo Saidov and his confederates planned their activities at his brothers' homes. Although both brothers are communists they turned a blind eye to his plans to teach about Islam.

In recent years there was what Sanginov considers remarkable initiative on the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz. People saved money and contributed their labor to build 22 "tea houses" on the sovkhos. These places in reality served as mosques. Abdullo Saidov named mullahs to officiate at these "tea houses." Sanginov makes the point that all this was known to the sovkhos' party, soviet, and social organizations as well as to communists, Komsomol members,

and responsible persons. Saidov and the other mullahs of these tea-house mosques told people not to let their children join the Pioneers and Komsomol, but to raise their children to be faithful to the teachings of Islam and Abu Hanifa, to exclude women from wedding festivities, and to keep women from working in the social sector. Gatherings at the tea-house mosques usually ended in prayers.

According to Sanginov, Saidov has "poisoned" the minds of "dozens of young people" with the "opium of religion." He has kept "dozens of young people" from acquiring knowledge beneficial to themselves and society and has turned them toward Islam.

Saidov preached the formation of an Islamic state in Tajikistan. For several years he drew his inspiration from Radio Pakistan's "Voice of Friendship" program and from the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He first preached this message at a village wedding in Yavanskiy Rayon. He repeated this message at a funeral on a kolkhoz in Vakhshskiy Rayon. On that occasion Saidov and his confederates called on those present to petition the 27th Party Congress for this.

News of Saidov's arrest spread quickly around Vakhsh. His confederates rose in reaction. His murids were the most vocal of all on the day of the confrontation in Kurgan-Tyube City. The murids were Mahmud Zuhurov, who lives on the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz, Sangak Chalayev and Afghon Mahmudov, both residents of Kurgan-Tyube City, and Barot Shukurov, a resident of the "Tel'man" Sovkhoz in Ordzhonikidzeabadskij Rayon. A mob of what Sanginov calls "adventurers and idlers of the city" joined with the murids, "violated social order in the streets," and disrupted work in government offices. Sanginov says that the most distressing thing of all is that there were communists and highly educated people in the mob: two who were neighbors of Saidov's on the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz and two middle school teachers from Vakhshskiy Rayon.

Saidov and his followers have received prison sentences of various durations. The director of the "Turkmenistan" Sovkhoz, R. Polvanov, was expelled from the party. The head of the soviet village of Tadzhibabad, M. Kassirov, was fired and received a stern reprimand and a notation on his party card. The first secretary of the Vakhsh Raykom, A. Khudoydodov, received a stern reprimand and a notation on his party card.

/9599

CSO: 1834/45



## RELIGION

### MULLAH CRITICIZED IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT in Tajik on 18 September 1986 carries on page 12 a 1,300-word article, "Halfway to Heaven" ("Dar nimrohi bihisht"), by N. Dadoboyev. The article is subtitled, "Story of a Deceitful Shaykh and His Disciples." Subhoniddin Burhoniddinov is a 30-year-old shaykh, a metal worker in an automobile workshop who lives in Kanibadam, Tajikistan. One night while he was in the hospital, God's messenger appeared to him. The messenger spat in Burhoniddinov's mouth and told him to serve God by leading the people to the truth. If Burhoniddinov did this, he would not have to work hard but would receive what he needs from God. Burhoniddinov told this story to some people who spread it widely and embellished it. Thus he became known as a seer and a healer. No ceremony or gathering was held among his neighbors without his participation. However, he had to conceal his ignorance of the Koran and other fundamentals of Islam. He was paid far more than other mullahs for religious services. If others got 4 loaves of bread, a shawl, and 3 rubles, Burhoniddinov got 10 rubles. After 2 years he acquired much wealth and bought a Zhiguli. He was called upon especially to foretell the future and to cure people. He was particularly sought by women seeking to have a son or to cure childlessness. In 1983 he struck two pedestrians while driving drunk and received a 2-year sentence. After his release he returned to his former activities, including curing illnesses and childlessness. Much of this was done in a village in Khodzheritskiy Rayon. One of the people who sought his help was a communist, Sanavbar Tohirova, an artist at the musical theater in Leninabad City; she was looking for a husband. Eventually Burhoniddinov received a 2 and 1/2-year sentence.

### IMPROVED SERVICES, HEALTH CARE NEEDED TO PROPAGATE ATHEISM

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON in Tajik No 9, 1986 carries on pages 84-88 a 1,600-word article, "Communist Belief--The Basis of a Scientific-Atheist Outlook" ("E'tiqodi kommunisti--asosi jahonbinii ilmiyu ateisti"), by R. Majidov, doctor of philosophy and head of the Sector of the History of Religion and Scientific Atheism of the Philosophy Department of Tajikistan's Academy of Sciences. Majidov writes that according to sociological research religious families are the main instrument for spreading religious views among the young. This can only be changed by implementing a range of social and economic measures. For example, in several rayons of Tajikistan a large proportion of the women are housewives. Therefore they are

not subject to the beneficial influence of the work collective and are likely to be religious. This has a negative influence on the children. Therefore, says Majidov, it is important to expand services and health care greatly in the republics of Central Asia. Playwrights and film makers have given little attention in recent years to atheist instruction and criticism of religion. An exception is N. Tabarov's "At the Crossroads" ("Dar chorsu").

#### SUFI HUMANISM PRAISED IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe SADOI SHARQ in Tajik No 8, 1986 carries on pages 105-115 a 3,000-word article, "Gnostic Love in Poetry" ("Ishqi irfoni dar she'r"), by Muhammadqul Hazratqulov. Gnostic love is especially associated with man's spiritual perfection. Sufi poetry deals with this. Sufis seek knowledge of the world and truth; one of the terms Sufi poets used for the highest level of illumination is "gnostic love." They expressed humanistic, freethinking views, as when they contrasted Islam's concept of enlightenment after death with the Sufi quest for knowledge of both worlds in this life. After the 10th century, gnostic love was a theme of classical Tajik poetry and subsequently entered Arabic, Turkish, and Urdu poetry. Classical Tajik poets linked this theme to the pure love of humanity. In a climate of growing pressure from religious figures, Sufi poets used expressions intended to conceal their ideas. Much of this has not yet been studied. As a result readers know too little about this important social thought, which for centuries influenced the culture and politics of the Near and Middle East.

#### ATHEIST TRAINING IN TAJIK CITY

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 23 September 1986 carries on page 2, under the rubric, "On an Atheist Subject" ("Dar mavzui ateisti"), 600-word article, "Ceaseless Work" ("Kori doimi"), by F. Rajabova, a secretary of the Kanibadam Gorkom. The article discusses atheist propaganda methods used in Kanibadam City. In the past 3 years, 33 people completed studies in the scientific atheism department of the obkom's University of Marxism-Leninism.

Recently many primary party organizations have undertaken new atheist propaganda measures among the young. Rajabova cites as successful examples a "Young Atheist" university operating in association with a vocational school and an atheist club at a garment factory. Most of the students at the young atheist university are young women.

The city newspaper has improved its coverage of atheist subjects in recent months. It has carried effective articles on the Soviet way of life and atheist instruction. A new publication began in July 1986, NILUFAR (Lotus). It reflects the activities of women's councils and deals with issues of work and the way of life as well as the implementation of new rites.

The agitprop department weekly and the gorkom twice monthly review the implementation of atheist policy set by higher party organs. This reveals who is doing a good or bad job and facilitates devising remedies promptly.

The "most important duty" of village party organizations is to make clear the "parasitical life of defenders of religious survivals" and to explain the correct way of life to the population. Another important area of activity is debunking holy places. Rajabova cites the example of the construction now under way of a workers' vacation house on the site of one holy place. Atheists moved to stop religious proselytizing by mullahs associated with another well-known holy place (Savri Qush). In March 1986 the atheists opened the tomb and showed the villagers that no one was buried there.

/9599

CSO: 1830/419

## CULTURE

### ROZHDESTVENSKIY REVIEWS FILM 'REPENTANCE'

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 87 p 8

[Film review by Robert Rozhdestvenskiy: "Not a Review At All: On the Film 'Pokayaniye'"; first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] On January 26th Georgian Cinema week will open with the film "Pokayaniye" [Repentance] and with a reception for a group of filmmakers at the Moscow movie theater "Tbilisi." This film by Tengiz Abuladze is already familiar to Georgian audiences, and has been shown in several Moscow movie theaters as previews. Soon "Pokayaniye" will be widely distributed. The poet Robert Rozhdestvenskiy's remarks are a foreword and a premiere.

"Once upon a time in a far distant land...." This is how I think about Tengiz Abuladze's film "Pokayaniye."

The film begins this way: a bearded man dressed in a pre-World War II military jacket is eating cake. The man is small, but his appetite is large. Nevertheless he manages also to read the newspaper. And suddenly he exclaims: Oh, Varlam has died! What a tragedy!...What a man he was! Oh, what a man!..."

Further on there's a civil funeral. It is led by Varlam's son Avel. There a lot of flowers and guests. Pious faces, moving speeches, a list of the deceased's merits. Just as it's supposed to be. But by some of the details you understand that you are being deceived and that all this is not serious but slightly ironic (as in famous Georgian short films). It turns out that one of Varlam's merits was that he "he was very good at making friends out of enemies and enemies out of friends...." The guests nod their heads. It is clear to them what is going on. For the time being it is not clear to us.

Varlam is being buried. And right away there is some kind of diabolism, phantasmagoria. The next morning his body is found in the garden of his own house: Varlam is leaning against a tree with his arms crossed on his chest. The dead man is buried for a second time. And once more he appears in the morning garden. In the same pose. He is buried once more: this time they construct a cage above the grave. This does no



good. The authorities get involved in the matter. They decide to set up an ambush at the cemetery. Varlam's grandson sets out on his own "separate ambush." The teen-ager is carrying a gun with the inscription "to my beloved grandson from grandfather Varlam." From this very gun he shoots at the man (actually at the woman) defiling the grave--a woman by the name of Ketevan, the daughter of a once-famous artist. Ketevan is wounded in the hand. (At the end of the film this gun is shot again--the grandson commits suicide and it is precisely in this way that he will answer for his father and his grandfather.)

A trial begins, and it is also somehow strange and unreal (caricatured lawyers in wigs with ringlets, dressed in robes, a judge preoccupied with a Rubik cube). This forms the unserious background to Ketevan's serious words: "Varlam is not worthy of the honor of lying in his native earth! And as long as I am alive he will not lie there...I swear!"

Further on, the story of Varlam's life. This is a story of the life and death of people who crossed his path at some time.

And again, farce. There is a meeting that took place long ago on the occasion of Varlam's assuming the mayor's position. Orators appear from a small balcony. They are almost parodic types. Right under the balcony, workers repair a watermain, rummaging around in the manhole. Something isn't going right there with them, didn't turn out. And the water pours forth in a fountain--right up to the roof itself! But the orators, all wet, go on speaking, and the typist goes on typing. Varlam himself appears. We can't hear what he's saying, but it is evident that he looks around and memorizes how various individuals are reacting to his speech....

Then there is Varlam's unexpected visit to an artist. He is wearing a luxurious Caucasian cloak. He is gay and unpredictable. He gives magnificent compliments to the artist's wife, then, suddenly, to the accompaniment of his two assistants, does a brilliant performance of an Italian aria, then goes into noisy raptures over the artist's pictures, and then he leaves, or, more exactly, he jumps out the window--whoop--and right after the jump follows the clatter of horseshoes! So he's jumped right into the saddle!....The whole scene is fantastic, a mixture of low farce and cheap operetta.

The "operetta," however, quickly ends. Again the doorbell rings. At the door are police constables in medieval armor with lances. "Peace be with this house," they say and ask the artist to go with them. "It won't take long," they say, "we've got to clear up some things..." The artist is led away, and later his pictures are carried off. One of the police constables is Varlam himself....

"Once upon a time in a far distant land...." This film is like a man's memory. The episodes are linked in it not through a straight plot, but with straight time. And, as in memory, here there are a lot of "digressions to the side," unexpected comparisons, parallels, which are semi-real from time to time.

Here are the artist and his wife running through some sort of tunnel. There is water up to their ankles. They are running. They are turning toward the exit, toward the light. But in the background of this light there suddenly arises a silhouette of a man in a Caucasian cloak. And the two run back through the water, gasping for breath....later they are already running through a ploughed-up field. Behind them is Varlam in an open car and also horsemen in medieval armor. And then the artist and his wife are lying side by side, half sprinkled with earth so that only their faces are visible. Only their faces.

I understand just what the director wants to say with these symbols, but I understand even more that these scenes resemble quotations, that this is a game, that this is invented. Therefore it is not scary.

What is scary, what becomes really scary, is when I see what is not invented, what it would be impossible to invent.

Sorrowful and defenseless is the part of women trying to find out about the fate of their dear ones. The episode with the logs is amazing!

A woman knocks on the window and speaks with the artist's wife. "Run quickly to the railroad station....They have brought logs from the north there...They say that some of them have the names of our...and even their addresses!"

The artist's wife with young Ketevan is standing by the railroad tracks. Here the logs have been piled up. There are thousands of them, tens of thousands! It is a cold and strange landscape, almost that of another planet. The lonely, bent-over, small figures of the women stumble along, wandering amid this wide open silence. They wander, looking around with hope. And suddenly?

Here, some sort of miracle, one of them gets lucky. She is crying, pressing her cheek to the damp butt-end of a log on which her husband's name has been carved out. The woman is crying, stroking the log with her hand and repeating something through her tears....

Thus "Once upon a time in a far distant land..." No, enough of pretending and acting as though no one understands a thing and no one remembers! Yes, in our land all this occurred! In yours and mine.

In recent years we have rarely touched on this tragic, very serious theme. But, you know, the past which we will not "stir up" is happily "stirred up" by our enemies! Yes, and how they "stir it up," with malice, with gusto, with hooting and shouting! They use everything: they juggle the facts and thoroughly slander us!

But, they can go to hell, our enemies! We will never get used to their eternal lies and hatred for us! For we do not live in order to please them. So, it is not a matter of our enemies. It is a matter of us ourselves.

Because it is one single thing, your and my past. Because it is all intertwined, intermingled, pressed and tied together: grief and joy, victory and defeat, discovery and loss, nobility and baseness.

It is impossible not to have a selective memory and to remember only what is advantageous and warms the heart! It is impossible to learn certain pages of history by heart, while hastily leafing through others: here, they say, individual mistakes were committed, but this was such a complicated time that it is better not to touch on it....

Complicated? Yes, in our history everything has been complicated! Every step was unbelievably complicated, every day and hour. Surely the first months after the revolution were complicated? And the Brest peace agreement? And the civil war? And NEP? And the construction of the first off-spring of Soviet industry? And the beginning of the Great Patriotic War? Surely all of this and much much else was complicated?

But, you know, we are talking about all this candidly! We talk about it, write about it, analyze the facts, explain, argue, and understand. And once more--for the nth time--we sense, grasp, and realize what a great and inhumanly difficult road our country has travelled. Our Homeland. That Land for which we are responsible today.

The lessons of the past, even the most complicated and bitter, nevertheless will not disappear anywhere and will remain lessons. We must memorize and know them. Know them fully. Otherwise what kind of lessons are these?

I want to return to the film. I have said nothing about the actors' performances. I have said nothing for one simple reason: no actors are visible in the film. They are not acting at all; they are living.

Particularly not "visible" is A. Makharadze, although he plays two main roles: that of Varlam himself and of his son Avel. To be more exact: both these roles were not acted by Makhradze, but lived. And how he lived them!

I cannot select a single epithet for the film. The words "interesting," "good," and "remarkable" in this instance seem too feeble to me and do not express anything.

But I am convinced about one thing: this is a genuine film. One of those that are vitally necessary.

13085/9190  
CSO: 1800/249

## CULTURE

ESTONIANS HAD OWN 'REPENTANCE' FILM IN 1968

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 5 Apr 87 p 3

[About openness on (the subject of) history; Some thoughts along the themes of the Georgian film "Repentance," by Aigar Vahemetsa]

[Excerpts] Re-establishing historical memory—this is the most important and topical task of "Repentance" at present, when the fresh breeze of openness is beginning to penetrate all spheres of our life and mental activity.

First of all, we should indeed ask, like Georgians are asking about their victims: what happened to them? where are they" We should ask what happened to Jaan Anvelt, Hans Poogelmann, Otto Rastas, Voldemar Voolmann, Johanes Kaspert and many other revolutionary leaders who were indispensable in carrying out the 1940 June revolution in Estonia. And from there, additional explanations are needed for several more grey areas in our history....

We do have something to be proud of—Kalju Kiisk's "Madness" which dissects the social and intellectual roots of brute force and which did not reach the all-union screen in 1968. (It must be said, to be truthful, that this film was not banned in Estonia.)

A paradoxical situation has emerged where the painful questions of history are being answered first of all by writers, dramatists, and directors, but historians are keeping quiet. Or to be more correct: kept quiet until very recently.

Let us hope that the decision of 16 February 1987 by the historians' coordinating council at the EsSSR Academy of Sciences and Tartu State University to work out "The Estonian History" in several volumes, with a scientific foundation, yet readable at the same time, will rid us in the future of the need to talk about openness in history, with reference to a historic film which has reached the screens of our cinemas from some other republic.

/8309

CSO: 1815/24



## CULTURE

### CINEMA UNION OFFICIAL ON IMPRESSIONS OF PRC VISIT

PM161035 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 April 1987 carries on page 7 under the headline "About the 'Lotus Village' and Other Impressions" a 2,500-word interview with I. Lisakovskiy, secretary of the USSR Cinematography Workers Union Board, on a recent visit by a delegation of cinematography workers to China.

The interview is introduced by the following note:

"A delegation of the USSR Cinematography Workers Union returned recently from the PRC, where it paid a visit at the invitation of the Chinese Cinematography Workers Union. We asked several questions of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Lisakovskiy, secretary of the USSR Cinematography Workers Union Board, who headed the delegation.

Lisakovskiy speaks of his impressions of the visit, recent developments in Chinese cinematography and possible expansion of Sino-Soviet cooperation in this sphere, and, asked whether Chinese representatives would attend the "meeting of socialist cinematography leaders" due to open in Sofia 11 April, says that "so far they have not expressed any wish to do so."

The interview concludes with a reply to a question about cinematography ties with capitalist and developing countries and three questions and answers about foreign travel by Soviet cinematography workers and union officials.

/8309  
CSO:1800/495

## CULTURE

### MOVIE INDUSTRY LEADERS ANSWER READERS' QUESTIONS

PM061411 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 April 1987 carries on pages 1, 4 under the headline "How Are Things in the Movies?" a 3,400-word article consisting of replies to readers' telephone calls by A.I. Kamshalov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, and E.G. Klimov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers. The item is carried under the "Direct Line" rubric. The readers' questions cover a wide range of topics, notably movies by Tarkovskiy, whose "Nostalgia" will be released, according to Kamshalov; the new movie "Repentance," currently only on show in Moscow, which is to go on release throughout the USSR, Kamshalov says; and the practice of editing foreign movies, a practice which Kamshalov says he opposes, preferring movies not to be bought abroad rather than being subjected to cuts. A reader's criticism of Wajda's "Man of Iron" as "anti-Soviet" is rejected. [The report cites Kamshalov as having answered this reader, but a page 4 correction in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA for 3 April says that Klimov, not Kamshalov, was the respondent to this question.]

On the purchase of foreign movies, Kamshalov notes that "the policy here has changed drastically" and that a "decision has already been taken" to purchase films by Kurosawa, Antonioni, and Fellini. One reader expresses the fear that the application of "autonomous financing" to moviemaking may lead to the commercialization of the Soviet cinema but Klimov announces that a "whole mechanism" is being revised to counter that. Other readers raise questions about the development of videos, problems in the teaching of moviemaking, and the operation of organizations such as movie clubs.

/8309

CSO: 1800/495

## CULTURE

### UNEXPECTED SUCCESS OF EXPERIMENTAL THEATER RECOUNTED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 87 p 8

[Article by director Mark Vayl: "An Unusual Trip, or Ten Years Later"; first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] Tashkent--The issue of the need for new theaters has been raised more than once at the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers' Congress. That makes the experiment of the Tashkent "Ilkhom" all the more interesting. The director Mark Vayl discusses it.

No one had planned the trip. Nor was the itinerary very well-defined. As we say nowadays, it was prompted by life itself. It is very likely that this in fact was the case.

Ten years ago in Tashkent some actors and a director gathered and put together an improvised show and set off for Nechernozemye during time off from their regular jobs.

They had no contacts with the local philharmonic society nor, for that matter, any certification to perform as a touring company. Earning money had not entered into their plans. No one earned anything. They may have even lost a little. When they returned home, they did one more performance, and then, in the course of ten years, twenty more. All free of charge. (The economic and legal basis for their being paid caught up with these devotees only in the past year. Ten years later.) That is how they worked, grabbing time between or after their regular performances.

The first performers were joined by another ten, and then, still more people. They were surrounded by artists, composers, and musicians. And they all led an irregular nocturnal way of life. For some it lasted months, while for others, years. The latter formed the foundation of the studio theater "Ilkhom."

Though they were not practical with regard to themselves, the founders of the studio theater were still able to construct their building using the latest in modern technology for small stages and to fill it with the electronics and stereophonic sound and everything else that they needed for their work. How did they do this? Of course, in an irregular manner,

because no one understood what they were giving birth to. A state theater--yes, of course! A popular theater--yes, of course! But a Studio Theater of professional actors? Fortunately, in the years when "Ilkhom" was created and evolving, the Theatrical Society was headed by an equally "irregular" vice-president, Rakhim Kariyev, who at age seventy suddenly put his faith in the uncertain venture and even earmarked some additional money to equip the theater. This is how the studio theater "Ilkhom" got on its own feet. This is how it staged its twenty-three performances in its 130 seat auditorium to more than 65,000 spectators. Then dozens of articles appeared about these performances both in our country and abroad, a film was made about "Ilkhom," the studio theater visited Moscow and Leningrad, and famous colleagues from many theaters throughout the country left their autographs on the theaters vestibule walls, etc., etc. In short, "Ilkhom" had acquired a reputation.

A whole generation of young directors, actors, and set designers atured in the theater practically the best that had appeared in the last decade in Tashkent with its population of 2 million.

This the result of a ten-year unplanned trip made its mark and made an impression.

But then the question arises: what is a studio theater--a test of one's strength, a beginning or a culmination, an outburst or the expression of a new generation's ideas about the theater?

Apparently we had resigned ourselves to the idea that the genetic code contained an essential link for the development of the theater, as though everything in it was immortal and not subject to decay. And that is why nothing new had to be created. The studio theater of professionals is regarded today as a rudiment (or as recidivism?) I can recall a number of responsible people, among them even employees of the Ministry of Culture, and a department head of one of our publications on culture, who got annoyed each time the studio theater was mentioned: look here, they'd say, the big theaters are in a state of crisis and are not producing quality, what can we get from you?

It is as though these Ministry employees have forgotten that historically studio theaters, starting with the Vakhtangovskaya and ending with the Yefremovskaya, were not supposed to take up time and trouble, but, on the contrary, were supposed to enrich the theater in an incredibly generous way. Concerning this "time and trouble," then we can speak here only about the ability to make use of everything that a studio theater can offer. But it is just on this point that all the misunderstanding hinges.

It is a paradox, but the "Ilkhom," which had proved to be a cradle for part of a new generation of young theater people simply did not become a participant in a single festival of young people's performances! Being an "illegitimate" child, it was as though the "Ilkhom" couldn't join in on the life of theater.



Unfortunately, we have forgotten in general how theaters are born. There is a decree and a theater is created. The most artificial way becomes the only means for increasing the number of theaters for entertainment. Nevertheless we cannot recall a single theater set up by an order which was able to stand up on its own two feet right away as an artistically full-blooded organism. While this "artificial" off-spring adapts, large amounts of state funds and creative resources are lost. Besides, none of this guarantees that a theater of real value will result!

Some people may remind me that the birth and life of many studio theaters coincided with transitional times in the history of our state and with an upsurge in social life.

However, this same "Ilkhon" is an example of another casual connection. Its origin in the middle of the seventies was a natural reaction to the absence of a social upsurge, to stagnation in the theater, to the impossibility of staging new plays on a regular basis. If the "Sovremennik" began with Rozov, then the "Ilkhon" began with Vampilov and its dramatists included Sh. Bashbekov ("Hedgehogs without Prickles," "A Waltz for White Steeds"), S. Zlotnikov ("Scenes by a Fountain"), the prose writers Ch. Guseynov ("Mohamed, Mamed, and Mamish"), K. Sergiyenko ("Good-Bye, Ravine"), and other authors.

Now, when we are talking and writing a lot about the reform of theatrical affairs and about theatrical experiments, then it becomes obvious that we should include the possibility of organizing a different type of studio theaters, satellite theaters. For this a theater must have the possibility of supporting an idea economically by earmarking supplementary funds for it. The studio theater must use both its own reserve of actors (here the link with the center may not be broken), and make contracts with other actors for periods of one to two years.

If we are successful, we will have not only a potentially new theater which has tested its level of creativity for two to three years, but the concrete results of its art which are so insufficient for movement and life in the theater.

What a special, wonderful state it is when the new-born theater sees the first individuals, the few dozen spectators growing into hundreds, and, after a while, thousands of people heading to see your performances!

Time is an amazing category. The young "Ilkhon" is ten years old, but it is already old. One of the first new productions by the studio, Brecht's "The Wedding," is seen today by young people who in the year of the "Ilkhon's" birth did not even know the great dramatist's name.

Thus with the "Ilkhon" did a generation of theater people grow up, but also a generation of theater-goers. It was precisely in this period that the "competitive" "Ilkhon" forced Tashkent's academic theaters to feel uneasy and to open their small stages. It was precisely in this period that the interest in the theater in Tashkent noticeably increased. However,

some people live more peacefully in half-empty auditoriums. Indeed, voices were heard very often to say that it was time to look into this studio. Why do people attend it? And what kind of people? They wanted a theater. And say harshly: "There will not be any theater!"

The "Ilkhom" also survived this curious period. We were visited by commission after commission, while the actors continued performing for free. They even thought up a formula to explain the meaning of "Ilkhom's" existence—a "parallel theater." They even became strong in the conviction that never, say, did they want to create a theater, but that they simply got together and then they could not part for the next ten years.

Hence, ten years later, having set a record for the longest-lasting studio theater of professional actors in the history of the Soviet theater, each one of us has taken off for his own circle. Already working in Moscow's and Tashkent's large theaters and naturally projecting the experience of our theater which has remained in my "past" life, I am musing about a lot of different things. For example, there is the fact that the commissions disappeared from the "Ilkhom" together with the calming of the wave that followed the explosive birth of the studio theater. The wave was a long one. It was able to last even longer. Inertia came and the commissions disappeared. It is wonderful that they disappeared. But why did inertia appear?

Even more so, as a person new to a traditional theatrical system as it had first taken form, I had a strong sense of how many ailments were affecting the old theater. How long "Ilkhom" resisted them!

This is why, having experienced the birth of a new theater, I am trying to do something to continue the idea of the "Ilkhom."

I look around at the Moscow Studio Theater of Young Dramatists which is located on the premises of the Lenkom Theater, created by initiative from above, trying for more than two years to pluck up its courage, carefully adjusting the title of its first performance, and once more I understand that studio theaters must be created in different ways.

Most frequently they must be created in an "irregular" way, like the "Ilkhom."

Creative people should be freed from money problems for a time. One single manager must be found who will earmark so many thousands for the job. The organs of culture for a time "yawn" at the studio theater so that the child can stand up on its own two feet...

However, let us try to imagine that "Ilkhom" had not made any trips.

Some of the actors would not have become what they have become by now. Our dramatists would not have seen their plays for they would not have been staged. "Ilkhom" performances would not have been created and they would not have been combined with music and scenery....

The link that has fallen from the chain must be restored. Only then will the trip completed by "Ilkhon" become a norm. And if one is to believe Peter Brooks, then for the genuine artist, it is its own reward.

In addition: travelers, growing to maturity on the road, learn a lot of new things that we have forgotten or can only guess about.

13085/9190

CSO: 1800/249

## CULTURE

### MINISTER OF CULTURE DISCUSSES PROBLEMS WITH THEATER

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12, 12 Apr 87 p 10

[Article by Fyodor Lastochkin]

[Text] Access to information is an obligatory condition for culture. But we did not suffer, to put it mildly, from excess of information precisely in the field of culture. Or to be more accurate, we did suffer, but from excess of rumours. The only way to get rid of rumours is openness. This was said at a recent press conference by Vasily Zakharov, minister of culture of the USSR. In confirmation of his words he dwelt in detail on things we really want to know about.

First he spoke about the destiny of the Moscow Art Theatre (MKhAT). A conflict commission worked at the theatre for a long time, it arrived at the conclusion that the split which happened in the company is irreversible. While recognizing the organizational mistakes of the theatre's chief director, the minister said that Oleg Yefremov does have a realistic model of a theatre, functioning on a contractual basis, whereas his opponents (who advocate the preservation of the old traditions) have neither an alternative programme nor a person capable of heading the company. Therefore, apparently there will soon appear in Moscow the MKhAT Association with two independent companies, equal auditoriums, their own chief directors and managers. Artistic competition will reveal the correctness of this decision. And the building in the Tverskoi Boulevard will be given over to the Friendship of Nations Theatre, at which visiting companies will perform during their Moscow tours.

Not everything is hunky-dory at the Bolshoi Theatre, either. This, according to the minister, is explained, above all, by a lack of leadership and poor discipline there. It is also necessary to reconsider the theatre's art council members. The matter is that the company became divided into groupings which alternatively "take the upper hand" so that the membership of the art council is constantly changing. The Bolshoi, the same as the MKhAT, will have to move. In 1988, it will be closed down for reconstruction. During this period, the company will have to perform on the stage of its subsidiary, where the Operetta Theatre is playing now. The new address for the Operetta Theatre hasn't yet been established.



A very serious situation has arisen at the new building of the State Tretyakov Gallery, which has been functioning only a few years. The reason for this lies not only in the building's poorly thought-out design but also in the poor quality of the construction. The danger threatening the exhibits and the depositories is so grave that the Picture Gallery will have to be closed down for a stage-by-stage reconstruction. It isn't so pleasant to talk about this, but it needs to be said.

As you can see, the press conference was far from a report on achievements. Even when speaking about the measures aimed at correcting the activities of our concert organizations and reducing paper work in the activity of the Philharmonic Society, the minister expressed alarm over the lowering of the prestige of serious, classical music in our country. The variety concerts bring a stable profit to the Philharmonic, and the concerts of classical music--no less stable losses. However, the state of affairs could be improved not by new methods of accounting, but by increasing, for example, the number of international competitions inside the country. One of the innovations is the international competition of Shostakovich's string quartets which is to be held in Leningrad. The number of competitions is to be increased in the future.

The subjects raised at the press conference are really serious and call for more profound analysis by the press.

/8309

CSO: 1812/58

## CULTURE

### WORKINGS OF PLANNED ART AUCTION DESCRIBED

PM201801 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 15 Mar 87 p 12

[Article by Mikhail Rogozhnikov: "Art Auction"]

[Text] "Yes, I really am president of the Organizing Committee of the Permanent Art Auction," I was told on the phone by art critic Yelena Kurlyandtseva.

"But why should it be an auction?"

"It's easy to put a price tag on manufactured goods. Here we have unique works, modern paintings. No one knows exactly their value. For this reason they cannot be sold solely at the usual shops, fairs or second-hand stores.

"The idea of an art auction came from Georg Myasnikov, vice-president of the Soviet Cultural Fund. Its launching has been scheduled for May. The idea took on at the association of young artists of Moscow. An organizing committee was formed of artists, art critics and other experts. Auctions will be taking place in the two-storey mansion in the Bauman Garden."

For many years, the selling and buying of paintings and sculptures was shrouded in mystery. Not all artists can sell their works through the services of the art salons. The purchasing committees of the Art Fund were not exactly noted for their democratic taste. Even the paintings they did buy used to be kept in storages for dozens of years.

Unlike the committees, foreigners visiting the USSR have been regular customers at studios of our painters and sculptors. Part of the stock of Soviet avant-garde works of the 60s and the 70s made its way to other countries. The exchange of works of art between countries is only welcome. But it is bad when it confirms the truth of the sad old dictum—"No prophet is accepted in his own land."

An active search is under way to improve the "artist-art dealer-customer" system. The auction looks like a happy option.

Without going into details (many of them are yet to be clearly defines) let me describe the procedure. Auctions are open to all artists, members of the Artists Union or not, whose works have been approved by the auction council. This is necessary to guarantee certain artistic standards of the auctioned works. Each batch to be auctioned will consist of some 40 works--three or four works per artist. The works will be exhibited for several days, followed by a one-day auction.

The commission rate on sales will be 15 per cent as compared with between 40 and 60 per cent in foreign countries. The commission will be given as pay to the auction room personnel, and to cover for the rent of the premises, advertising and so forth.

## CULTURE

### KAZAKH LITERARY JOURNAL CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Alma-ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 7 February carries on page 4 a 2,200-word article by critic Bagyt Sarbalayev, member of the USSR Journalists Union, published under the rubric "On Literary Themes," entitled "The Heritage of Criticism is Truth." The article strongly castigates the Kazakh literary weekly ZHULDYZ for too little criticism, badly organized and presented criticism and poorly written criticism. In this vital area Sarbalayev sees ZHULDYZ as quite out of step with the needs of the times and he calls for drastic changes if current literary and ideological goals are to be achieved.

Sarbalayev would like not only systematic criticism that is well considered in the pages of ZHULDYZ, but also two to three times as many critical articles as were published in 1986 and five to six times as many reviews. The number of book reviews published by ZHULDYZ (less than a score per year) is characterized by Sarbalayev as far too few in view of the hundreds of books published each year by just the KaSSR literary presses alone.

### KAZAKH WRITERS UNION REVIEWS LITERARY JOURNALS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 30 January<sup>1</sup> carries on page 6-7 a 5,100-word editorial summarizing a recent joint session of the Kazakhstan Writers Union "Circle of Elders" and its Criticism Council to discuss criticism published in the Kazakh language journals QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, ZHULDYZ and the ZHALYN Literary Almanac during the last six months of 1986. The editorial is entitled "The Authority of Criticism."

Participants at the 21 January meeting had positive and negative criticism to offer on all three Kazakh journals, but singled out ZHULDYZ for particularly strong comment. The journal was criticized for failure to publish a single review of any literary book published in 1986 and for inadequate effort to communicate to

readers what is going on in the literary present, what the literary, aesthetic and other goals of today's literature are and the possibilities of modern literary criticism. The journal was also faulted for too light criticism of some problem authors (e.g. Rollan Saysenbayev, whose recent novel failed to include any ideologically positive characters) and for a lack of consistency and forcefulness.

/9599

CSO: 1832/418



## CULTURE

### RESTORERS FIX CURRENT BUILDINGS, IGNORE HISTORICAL SITES

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12, 12 Apr 87 p 6

[Article by Viktor Loshak and Alexander Mostovshchikov: "We Do Not Trust You"]

[Text] This was stated by the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet at its session to heads of the two restoration agencies Soyuzrestavratsiya and Rosrestavratsiya.

The floor inside the building of Sheremetyevo Airport was being fitted with parquetry, the repair work was moving swiftly at the shoemaker's in Dolgoprudny near Moscow, and granite slabs were being polished for the flooring inside the building of the State Planning Committee of the RSFSR. It is only by a considerable stretch of imagination that one can see the existing link between the above operations and crumbling historical monuments, old buildings, museums, and churches crying out for restorers.

The restorers roped in to [doing] repairs at the children's goods supermarket in Izmailovo, were expected in vain at the Kuskovo museum estate and at the former estate of the Gagarins. In eleven years the Rosrestavratsiya could only put to use a fifth of the funds earmarked for the repairs of Ostankino Palace, a museum of Russian serfs' art. Even in summertime, no parquetry or other wooden items were being refurbished there. At the very same time, work was in full swing on restoring a stele and the woodwork at the 8th Taxicab Pool in Moscow.

That restorers don't do what they are supposed to in Moscow is obvious. And it is no accident that when the Moscow Soviet asked Muscovites through the media to suggest matters to be discussed by the Moscow Soviet at one of its sessions, most people thought that the most important one should be the preservation of architectural monuments. Their concern is well founded because no single landmark in Moscow has been thoroughly restored in recent years. More often than not highly skilled restorers do only the jobs that pay the most--granite, marble, gilding--and then quit.

Members of the Moscow Soviet and inspectors went to restoration sites to investigate the reasons for the present situation. What they found had to be discussed in the recent session of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. They found that restorers fail to meet planned targets, work at projects they were not assigned, juggle with the books and draw illegal pay.

We should take a broader view of the problem, though. Monuments are crumbling and we are losing them. They are important because they are part of our history, culture and past. What do you call it when restorers build a sauna on commission from the Music Fund inside Prince Naryshkin's mansion, a precious architectural monument build between the 17th and the 18th centuries, when nearly half the work supposedly done and paid for at the Central Museum of the Revolution (of all places) had never been done at all? Do you call it criminal negligence, as the session of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee did, or cynicism?

"After looking into the restoration of monuments, the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet asked the boards of directors of the ministries of culture of the USSR and the RSFSR to look and see if head of the Soyuzrestavratsiya I. Korobkov and head of the Rosrestavratsiya I. Dvoryashin were suitable for their positions, and to assess the work by the ministries' executives responsible for the work of restorers," said Yuri Prokofyev, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. "Even the old hands at the Executive Committee thought that the session was unusual. No one could think of a single instance in the past where city authorities had impeached heads of two organizations not in direct subordination to the Moscow Soviet. This marks the enhanced role of the Soviet, its capability to influence the most diverse aspects of the city's life."

One more thing. There would hardly have been so much dissatisfaction with the restorers if many unique buildings had not been brought to the state of ruin by those who rent them. The Moscow Soviet is partly to blame for letting these buildings out for a number of years but failing to keep an eye on their maintenance.

The situation is worse than it may seem. There's a lack of experts, funds and strict discipline. The very word "monument" should strike a note of reverence in those who restore monuments. It is planned that the personnel of the Soyuzrestavratsiya and the Rosrestavratsiya who work in Moscow should form an independent self-financing organization of the state control, protection and utilization of monuments of architecture, history and culture, under the supervision of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee.

/8309

CSO: 1812/58

## CULTURE

### HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 19 September 1986 carries on page 4, under the rubric, "From the Depths of the Ages" ("Az qa"ri asrho"), a 600-word article, "Our Sacred Duty" ("Vazifai muqaddasi mo"), by Shodimurod Aloviddinov, deputy director for scientific affairs of the Gissar Historical and Cultural Preserve, and Zafar Dustov, a worker at the preserve. The Gissar Valley has been a site of human habitation for 40-50,000 years. Tajikistan's historical and cultural monuments are concentrated in Gissarskiy Rayon. This includes a fortress, the gateway of a citadel, two madrasahs, a mosque, a tomb, and other monuments. The Gissar historical preserve gathers, studies, and repairs monuments. In the future 68 historic and cultural buildings will be located on the preserve's 86.3 hectares. There will be several open air museums (ethnographic, architectural, archeological, and applied art), and a branch of the regional studies museum. All this will be the first of its kind in Central Asia.

### LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN TAJIK TEXTBOOKS

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 11 September 1986 carries on page 4 a 900-word article, "Textbooks Must Be Pithy" ("Kitobi darsi boyad purmazmun boshad"), subtitled, "A Teacher's Thoughts" ("Andeshahoi omuzgor"), by A. Amirboyev, a candidate in pedagogy and teacher at the State Pedagogical Institute in Dushanbe. Amirboyev criticizes some fourth-grade textbooks, particularly "The Tajik Language (Zaboni Tojiki) and "Nature Studies" (Ta) (both published in Dushanbe, 1984). Both books use expressions which are difficult to understand and are not used in everyday speech. "Nature Studies" is representative of the problem with several textbooks translated from Russian--parts are difficult to understand and inaccurate. For example, instead of using the word "kometa" (comet), which is widely used and readily comprehensible, the book uses a word of Arabic origin ("zuzanab"), which is difficult for fourth graders. Amirboyev also compares translations of a third- and fourth-grade textbook where the same word is translated differently.

## LIBRARY PROBLEMS IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 13 September 1986 carries on page 1 an unsigned 600-word article, "Public Libraries" ("Kitobkhonahoi omma'vi"). The general theme of the article is how well the library system works. The system has 1,351 libraries with 13 million books and serves more than 1 million readers. However TOJIKISTONI SOVETI has received letters indicating many problems with the library system. The main problem is that some librarians lack professional training and cannot do their job properly. Many large villages in Tajikistan have no cultural facilities, including libraries. Libraries have an insignificant number of books in the scientific, scientific-popular, belles-lettres, and instructional fields. Very few books are borrowed from libraries in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast.

/9599

CSO: 1830/420



## SOCIAL ISSUES

### PRAVDA INTERVIEWS PROSECUTOR GENERAL REKUNKOV

PM261201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 87 First Edition p 6

[Interview with USSR Prosecutor General A.M. Rekunkov conducted by own correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernyak: "The Law Is the Law; USSR Prosecutor General A.M. Rekunkov Answers PRAVDA Readers' Questions"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Increasing the Protection of Citizens' Rights and Legitimate Interests" was adopted recently. The document is distinguished by the scale of the tasks involved in strengthening legality and organizing the fight against crime. It is concerned not with details but with fundamentally restructuring the work of law-enforcement agencies, particularly the prosecutor's office. Readers want to know how it is progressing, what kind of problems are arising there, and how they are being tackled. Our correspondents put these and other questions to the USSR prosecutor general.

[Rekunkov] The years of stagnation left us many cobwebs. The rust of formalism also affected the bodies of the prosecutor's office, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich observed. The practice of extensive accumulation of supervisory checks was with us for a long time. That naturally affected the quality of work. Real work was sometimes replaced by bureaucracy, and petty monitoring added few guarantees of legality to the state system. And yet supervision by the prosecutor's office is with good reason called the "supreme form of supervision" in the USSR Constitution. It is this aspect of it, which was previously underestimated, that is seen today as the starting point for the restructuring of the whole work carried out by the organs of the prosecutor's office. This work must be aimed at ensuring that the rule of law is uniform throughout the country and that its demands are a common obligation on each and every one of us.

"The law is the law," we often say. And there is a profound meaning to those words. The precise observance of the law is one of the main means of implementing social justice. And, conversely, any breaches of it affect not only the interests of the individual but the interests of society as a whole. Last year the prosecutor's office lodged protests against around 60,000 legally unsubstantiated administrative acts. On prosecutors' initiative 11,000 unlawfully dismissed people were reappointed. Some 90,000 complaints by citizens were upheld.

These figures speak for themselves. We are now placing our main emphasis on increasing the responsibility of administrative organs, economic leaders, legal and auditing services, and of monitoring institutions for the discharge of their obligations to ensure legality is observed. The USSR Prosecutor's Office, in conjunction with the "AvtoVaz" Association has carried out much work to eradicate embezzlement of socialist property at that enterprise. Results were not slow in coming: The amount of property embezzled fell by half.

There are quite a few such examples. They indicate the great potential law-enforcement agencies have for strengthening the legality. Here, in short, can be seen the nub of restructuring with regard to supervision by the prosecutor's office.

[Correspondents] The CPSU Central Committee resolution is aimed at increasing the personal accountability of the leaders of the country's law-enforcement agencies for the state of legality and organization of the fight against crime. However, as letters to PRAVDA indicate, things are still not satisfactory on this score everywhere. The same story from Voroshilovgrad over the unlawful arrest of V. Verkhin produced a bumper mailbag. What conclusions have been drawn from that lesson?

[Rekunkov] Very serious conclusions. The people involved in it have been severely punished. While on the whole a lot of work to strengthen legality in the activity of law-enforcement agencies themselves is being carried out, the question remains an acute one, and this particularly applies to inquiries and preliminary investigations. There are, unfortunately, still workers who have lost a sense of personal responsibility and exhibit prejudice, bias, callousness, and indifference to people's fate. As a result of this it becomes possible for cases of unlawful arrest and detention of citizens to occur and for unjustified criminal proceedings to be brought against them. Last year courts exonerated and released from custody around 140 people.

Serious omissions in supervision work carried out by the prosecutor's office have been revealed in a number of places. Some leading workers in the prosecutor's office have lost their sense of vigilance and connived at law-breaking themselves. Such cases are given a principled evaluation. Thus, Belorussian SSR Prosecutor Makarov, Voroshilovgrad Oblast Prosecutor Shatalov, Irkutsk Oblast Prosecutor Rechkov, and North Osetian ASSR Prosecutor Putimtsev have been dismissed from their posts for bringing unjustified criminal proceedings against citizens. A number of workers in the organs of internal affairs and the prosecutor's office who employed unauthorized methods of investigation have been committed for trial.

[Correspondents] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, legality subsumes liability for any breach of it. That liability can take various forms—criminal, administrative, or disciplinary—but it must ensue without fail if the law is breached. Impunity leads to other, sometimes more dangerous breaches. Nevertheless readers write that breaches have often gone unpunished in recent years. V. Ivanov (Sverdlovsk) thinks that prosecutors have become too soft....

[Rekunkov] That is undeniable. Although at the demand of the prosecutor's office around 200,000 officials had criminal proceedings brought against them last year, the figure has grown markedly in recent years. But many breaches are in reality left unpunished. Why is this so? There is no simple answer to this question. Tightening the law and the level of organization are a common cause. Nevertheless, economic leaders close their eyes to many breaches because this wholly suits their own narrow departmental interests. Hence punishments are quite often purely formal and their educative effect is poor. Some of them are applied under the pressure of supervisory and control agencies and the press merely to make a show of exactingness and avoid a specific solution of problems. Investigation shows that the officials themselves consider that roughly 75 percent of reprimands are a form of "insurance."

People can openly sport their reprimands and still, as a general rule, get their bonus on time. The falsity of such a position in the conditions of present-day changes is becoming increasingly obvious. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on eradicating misrepresentation and figure-padding in Moldavia, Kirovograd Oblast, and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry put this question on the plane of leaders' personal accountability and real as opposed to purely formal responsibility for such antistate actions.

The prosecutor's office and other law-enforcement agencies have carried out in recent years quite a considerable amount of work to combat figure-padding, bribery, and other abuses. Attention has been concentrated primarily on detecting the organisers of these crimes and making a more thorough investigation of the mechanism they use to carry them out. A situation such as that which obtained recently in Uzbekistan must not be allowed to recur anywhere. As Khudayberdiyev, former chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers, frankly admitted, an atmosphere of universal deception and figure-padding gradually developed in the republic as a result of the defective leadership style.

Bribery, which paralyzed the administration of trade in Moscow and Rostov, flourished on the same defective foundations of lack of control and responsibility. This road led to the degeneration and dishonor of the following people who formerly occupied responsible posts: Khuramshin, Sushkov, Vyshku, and Khabiashvili. We fully realized the cost of official slipshodness and lack of discipline only after experiencing the tragedies of the Chernobyl AES and the motor vessel "Admiral Nakhimov." I think that just one of these reminders is enough to make one realize the whole acuteness and urgency of the task of resolutely strengthening legality and public and state order that the CPSU Central Committee has set up.

[Correspondents] Readers are concerned that legal levers are as yet being poorly utilized to speed up the restructuring under way in the country and in particular to enhance the quality of products. A. Akhlomov from Zaporozhye, for example, writes that he does not know of any case where severe punishment has been meted out to officials to blame for contractual deliveries not being carried out, defective goods being produced, or cultural monuments perishing.

[Rekunkov] It regrettably has to be admitted that legal means—including the criminal sanctions envisaged by the law—are at the moment clearly being used ineffectively. Let us take the protection of cultural monuments. Decisions to demolish them are usually taken by local soviets. However, there are quite a few cases where cultural monuments are damaged and destroyed through the fault of the actual people responsible for their protection. One thing is clear: The likelihood of punishment for such actions must be resolutely increased. We have demanded that prosecutors increase supervision and individual accountability on the part of people guilty of outrageous treatment of the people's property.

Supervision of the execution of economic legislation also has to be radically improved. Last year, at prosecutors' demand, more than 18,000 officials were punished and 32,000 made materially accountable for producing substandard goods and breaching contractual discipline. However, it is important not only to enhance responsibility but also to gain a better and deeper understanding of the causes and conditions giving rise to such breaches.

Restructuring of the economic mechanism is sharply reducing the scope for excessive administration and is putting economic ties and relations on a footing of equal partnership based on contractual commitments. The legal service's role is increasing immeasurably in this regard. However, it is here that the situation is most unsatisfactory. Using one of the ministries as a starting point, the USSR Prosecutor's Office is now developing in conjunction with other agencies a reliable law-enforcement mechanism, which will facilitate the switch to economic management methods.

[Correspondents] R. Kon from Moscow writes about instances where the violation of an outdated or unsuitable instruction which is hindering restructuring and preventing efficient work provides grounds for serious charges against managers. However, it is precisely those people who display socialist enterprise and strive to bring the state real benefit who risk falling foul of the law. This comrade asks: Will the work of the prosecutor's office change under the new management conditions and if so, in what specific way?

[Rekunkov] The documents of the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) and January (1987) Plenums set the task of providing labor collectives with legal protection against petty tutelage and unjustified interference in their day-to-day economic activity and freeing them from the burden of diverse instructions which shackle enterprises' independence. The Law on the State Enterprise, whose draft is now being discussed by all the people, clarified many matters. However, quite a lot also depends on the wisdom of the people who apply the law and the maturity of their legal and political consciousness. Outdated instructions will be reviewed, of course. At the same time, it is important to ensure right now that resourceful people, whose actions are in tune with the economic and social needs of the times, do not fall victim to departmental bureaucracy and the various kinds of antiquated regulations.

Instances of that kind exist. The USSR Prosecutor's Office issued at local level a special directive on greater supervision to ensure that criminal cases instituted for breaches of the law in economic activity are justified. The



directive provides precise guidelines on the work of the prosecutor's office under the new conditions. We specified a strictly differentiated approach. Leaders' actions often involve the elimination of stereotypes and an amount of risk-taking in the interests of production. At the same time there is a certain narrow thinking toward abuses, self-interest, and misrepresentation. Whatever good intentions are used to justify it, it is unforgivable.

[Correspondents] A. Kozlovskiy from Kiev would like to ask the Prosecutor General the following question: "Is it not time to change the practice whereby the prosecutor rather than the economic leader institutes legal proceedings for material damage caused by a worker?"

[Rekunkov] This question touches on a really chronic problem. The effectiveness of the campaign against nonproduction losses is undermined by the passive attitude of economic management organs when it comes to recovering losses caused to the state by specific culprits. What is happening now? Casually and virtually unhindered, many leaders write off losses as production costs and do not even bother to investigate the causes of those losses. Is it really good form when in the Kazakh SSR, for example, losses from disease and death among cattle amounted to tens of millions of rubles and the culprits were sued for no more than 2 percent of that sum?

In recent years the number of cases brought by prosecutors to make good the harm caused to the state have increased several times over. However, the situation cannot be rectified by the efforts of prosecutor's offices alone. Vigorous actions are needed from economic managers. Certain improvements have been noted in this sphere. Estonia, Bashkir ASSR, Krasnodar Kray, and Voronezh and Chelyabinsk Oblasts may be cited as examples. Overall, however, there has been no breakthrough yet and many people have still not realized that all our efforts will be worth little unless the losses suffered by the state through mismanagement and self-interest, are made good.

[Correspondents] V. Tarasyutin from Moscow remarks that officials in various ministries and departments, acting on their own accord, initiate a whole host of unlawful instructions which infringe people's rights to have their pressing needs met. This view is echoed by other readers who report violations of the rules of trade, consumer services, and the housing laws. Readers want to know: What specifically is the USSR Prosecutor's Office doing to curtail such activities?

[Rekunkov] Quite a lot is being done. And there are results to show for it. But I must admit that many violations of citizens' rights are not being tackled resolutely yet and in some cases not at all.

It is necessary to considerably enhance the effectiveness of supervision by the prosecutor's office and the principled nature and incisiveness of the response to violations of citizens' rights and legitimate interests and to improve the handling of complaints. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has extended the practice of on-the-spot visits to check into citizens' warnings about violations of the law and to carry out a thorough investigation at various levels of specific instances of inaction and a lack of principle by workers exercising supervision in a given area of prosecutor's office activity. The course of increasing

cadres' responsibility will be implemented consistently and unwaveringly. Measures are being taken to fundamentally improve the supervision designed to ensure that departmental instructions are lawful. I believe that the Ministry of Justice, in turn, could set up effective juridical monitoring.

A uniform state procedure to investigate the lawfulness of departmental instructions and their implementation is essential in principle. After all, there is a danger that even new laws as they pass through departmental offices may acquire supplements and interpretations capable of nullifying an otherwise sound idea. That has happened more than once.

[Correspondents] The next question concerns relations between the prosecutor's office and local soviet and party organs. Unfortunately, the editorial office mailbag contains quite a few letters which bear out the fact that law enforcement organs do not always adopt a principled stance and often toe the line of the local authorities....

[Rekunkov] The main purpose for which the prosecutor's office was created is the struggle against local favoritism and the affirmation of the uniformity of the rule of law throughout the country. The ability of the prosecutor's office to resist all kinds of external influences and pressures is the characteristic of the profession itself. A man who lacks this quality cannot be a prosecutor. That is our basic premise.

[Correspondents] Nevertheless....

[Rekunkov] Nevertheless, instances of interference and the examination of specific cases by party and soviet organs are not rare. For over 18 months, for example, the Turkmenistan prosecutor's office has been unable to complete the case of the overreporting of rice figures at the "Kyzyl-baydak" Kolkhoz in Chardzhou Oblast's Dargan-atinskiy Rayon. The overreporting was organized by party raykom first secretary Atadzhanov and raykom agroindustrial association chairman Dzhomardov. Every method was used to delay the case and the rayon and oblast soviets refused to allow criminal proceedings to be instituted against the officials and deputies who organized the crime.

[Correspondents] But there is always the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium....

[Rekunkov] Indeed there is. And the prosecutor's office approached it. But I am talking about a different matter. A leader who thinks in a state- and party-minded way will never venture to interfere in the examination of investigations and court cases, even less to take the place of justice. Party-mindedness and the rule of law are indissolubly connected concepts. That which is in the interests of the law is also in the interests of the party. This idea is so obvious that it needs no further comment.

[Correspondents] Readers complain about exaggerations in the execution of the law on the struggle against unearned incomes. V. Kudryashko from Gomel is worried about how well the law enforcement organs have studied the measures designed to implement the law on individual labor activity, which goes into force on 1 May 1987. Are previous mistakes not being repeated?

[Rekunkov] The adoption of the law on individual labor activity definitively clarified the question of what is meant by earned and unearned incomes. Subordinate legislation is now being prepared to ensure the efficient organization of the law's implementation and to avoid possible misunderstandings and different interpretations. The prosecutor's office is taking measures to ensure that the execution of this law is supervised at the proper level.

[Correspondents] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, the question of the further democratization of our society and the intensification of openness is very topical today. This point was repeated at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. At the same time, as D. Aliyev from Baku writes, the activity of the prosecutor's office and other law enforcement organs is often beyond comprehension. This comrade believes that there would be far fewer breaches of the law if prosecutors were to report to labor collectives.

[Rekunkov] The intensification of openness and the all-around strengthening of ties with labor collectives are basic elements of restructuring as far as prosecutor's office organs are concerned. Last year our workers held over 400,000 lectures and conversations on legal themes and appeared in the press, on the radio, and on television over 40,000 times. More than 90,000 reports on examinations of the execution of the law were delivered to labor collectives. Those are the figures. However, we are not satisfied by content of the work at present.

Lawyers' addresses are still marred by empty rhetoric. Manifestations of bureaucratic hedging and exaggerated fears of making an "injudicious" remark are still evident. Legal reports on specific questions and cases are often late and this gives rise to all manner of rumor, nonsense, and idle speculation. All these phenomena are intolerable in conditions of openness.

/8309

CSO: 1800/505

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### MOSCOW POLICE ACCUSED OF BEATING INNOCENT SUSPECT

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by P. Shipilin: "How the Truth Was Lost. The Case is Closed, But Questions Remain..."]

[Text] Three beat up on one. That fact in itself is an unpleasant one -- one's inner sense of justice rebels against that numerical disadvantage. That becomes doubly unpleasant if one realizes that each one of the three could alone have handled the situation since, as a rule, a healthy man is stronger than a 17 year-old lad. But all of these feelings of moral discomfort are at once replaced by indignation because it just wasn't any group of three that beat up on Andrey Petrov, but Criminal Investigation Inspector V. Prachev and two inspectors S. Tomillo and V. Isayenkov. Moreover, the beating took place for several hours in a row in one of the offices of their home base 119th Militia Department of the Kuntsevskiy Rayon Administration of Internal Affairs.

Such was the story as related by the victim. But in criminal cases of this kind there are at least two versions of the truth. The militia officers maintain that Petrov was not beaten.

However, the truth always turns out to be singular. Here, it suffered from the very beginning, and until the very end. On December 30 of last year the Moscow City Court rescinded the Frunzenskiy Rayon sentence of May 23, according to which V. Prachev, S. Tomillo, and V. Isayenkov were to be imprisoned "for four years at an intensive corrective labor colony." Following a supplemental inquest, the case was closed because of insufficient evidence.

In order to look into this case in more detail, we shall have to go back to 1982, at the time the events of the case were just unfolding.

On September 2 a fight took place on Kastanayevskaya Street. It didn't last too long because two of the brawlers lost confidence in their fists and resorted to cold steel. Their opponents were brought to a hospital with light knife wounds and were discharged soon thereafter. The assailants escaped.

Andrey, like many other local residents, heard about the fight. But, two weeks later, when he was invited to drop in to the militia station, he never



thought that they were going to talk to him about the fight. It simply never occurred to him that he himself, and all of people of his age from Kastanayevskaya Street were under suspicion.

Once again, an old subject that sets one's teeth on edge: Our ignorance of the law. Petrov didn't have to respond to this semi-official invitation at all. He could have broken off the conversation at the station house at any time and left. And he could also have refused to go to the militia department when S. Tomillo and V. Isayenkov decided that the two of them could not manage this obstinate youngster. But he did respond, he didn't break off the conversation, and he did go... Later, at the inquest and at the courtroom, it was said that "no one detained him by force -- because they didn't have the right to do so." Nothing about that was said to Andrey.

The only thing he knew for sure was that he did not take part in the fight. And he continued to insist upon that at the militia department where the district inspectors were assisted by V. Prachev.

"Call Kiseleva," requested Andrey. She and I were out walking all evening, but we never came near that place. She'll confirm that..."

She didn't confirm it. Moreover, from her statement it became clear that during their outing Andrey had a squabble with some fellows at a bus station, there was a brief brawl, and it's possible that her companion pulled out a knife..."

Later Lyuda would weep about this, saying that they threatened "to send her to some kind of hospital." It was just that "argument" that compelled her to sign a statement that contained a notorious lie. But in the end Kiseleva corrected her faint-hearted deed. Henceforth, in any interview, interrogation at an inquest, or in the courtroom, she would tell only the truth: On that ill-fated evening Andrey fought with no one. But that was to come later.

And then they began to beat Andrey.

Wait a minute! Any guilt on the part of V. Prachev, S. Tomillo, and V. Isayenkov was not proven. Can one really say with confidence "they started to beat him"?

From the legal (and the only true) point of view one cannot. But then why did Deputy Procurator of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon O. Aksenova, who had signed the order to close the case, no longer as an official but as an ordinary person not without emotion, say: "It is now impossible to offer proof. The time has passed"?

Yes, time was on the side of the accused from the very beginning. Criminal proceedings were instituted by the Kuntsev procurator one month after the supposed commission of the crime. An illness kept S. Tomillo away from an investigation for 18 months (one has to wonder how such an ill person could work in the militia). Later, following complaints lodged by the plaintiffs, the case was transferred to Kuybyshevskiy Rayon for further investigation -- another delay. The process lasted for a year at the Frunzenskiy Rayon

People's Court (it had to be restarted twice because one of the attorneys himself was put on the dock for taking bribes). The further the case dragged on from that fateful September day, the lesser were the chances of the truth coming out.

And surely it was there for the asking on September 17 when Petrov and his mother came to file a complaint with the then Chief of the 119th Militia Department S. Kozlov. That was when precise data could have been established, when the victim, witnesses, and the suspects could have described the previous day's events.

S. Kozlov did not believe the Petrovs. Then they themselves went to the emergency station where the beatings were recorded.

And once again, our ignorance of the law. Neither the son nor the mother knew that the procurator was responsible for supervision over the militia. If they had gone to the procurator immediately, everything would have been much simpler. Incidentally, certainly S. Kozlov should have known that according to Article 126 of the criminal procedural code, a preliminary investigation about exceeding official authority on the part of militia personnel must be undertaken by the offices of the procurator. Simply put, he was obligated to report the incident to the procurator on that very day.

Instead, the department chief conducted an official investigation and on September 27 signed an order denying the institution of criminal proceedings with the finding: "An examination of the case has established that on September 16, 1982 at about 1900 hours citizen Petrov was invited to explain the circumstances surrounding a fight that took place on September 2 which had been investigated by militia officers Prachev, Isayenkov, and Tomillo. Petrov was interrogated at the station and then released to go home. No physical measures against him were taken."

In the meantime, information about the case became available which makes it clear that C. Tomillo, V. Isayenkov, and V. Prachev simply could not have been engaged in an investigation of the fight on Kastanayevskaya Street because they service other administrative districts. It probably doesn't pay to conduct a special investigation in order to establish which documents are correct and which are not. It is only depressing that the militia itself has been so carefree in dealing with the facts and so willing to put together documents without embarrassment even if they are mutually contradictory. The plaintiffs themselves changed their testimony on a number of occasions and, one might say, attempted to complicate the search for the truth. Unfortunately, they succeeded in attaining that goal.

The case was doomed from the very first day. The truth which slipped our fingers, remains somewhere back there, in September 1982...

As soon as the sentence was pronounced, V. Prachev and S. Tomillo were fired from the militia as convicted persons (V. Isayenkov was fired earlier for

violating regulations). Now, both of them, armed with the order to close the case and a petition from the 119th militia department, have applied to be reinstated to their former positions. Has the storm really been put aside?

6289

CSO: 1800/434

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### READER WONDERS IF DRUG ADDICTION 'ONLY YOUTH PROBLEM'

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Feb 87 p 13

[Letter from Baku Scientific Worker N. Safarov, published under the rubric "From the 'LG' Science Department Mail": "Narcotics Addiction: Not Only a 'Youth' Problem"]

[Text] I hope that aside from the legal, medical and economic aspects, the newspaper will touch on the social-psychological aspects of the problem. Only in this way is it possible to shed more light on the reasons for the evident attraction to narcotics in our country.

We know that in many countries one of the measures taken to warn people about drug addiction is holding information sessions in the schools. Moreover, this is used not only in countries where this evil is widespread. Information sessions and so-called preventive education are practiced in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. This was described in the journal COURIER UNESCO (February 1982). Why don't we consider such facts?

In addition, taking into account international experience, it is clearly necessary to overcome the current opinion about the harm of extensive and open discussion of narcotics.

I feel that the problem of "drugs and drug addicts" is perceived in general as a youth problem. This is understandable if we assume that the use of drugs can be used as a means of self-assertion or as a form of social interaction. But is this only a youth problem? There is probably no precise answer to this question. However, this is like many other questions connected with extremely dangerous passions.

There will be more luck in the struggle against drug addiction as soon as we stop believing in such assertions as "The main culprits in the growth of drug addiction are the southern crop harvesters, the suppliers of these goods to the black market, and the underground laboratories producing this poison." (I am citing A.I. Potapov, RSFSR minister of health, in an interview the paper published on 20 August 1986.) Is it really not known that if there were no demand for the poison the question of "southern crop harvesters" wouldn't arise? Surely the problem is larger.

CSO: 1830/439



## SOCIAL ISSUES

### NOVGOROD ISPOLKOM CONDUCTS TELEPHONE POLL ON OWN WORK

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by V. Troyanovskiy, deputy, Novgorod City Soviet, under the rubric "From the Practical Experience of Soviets": "Operation 'Hot Line'"]

[Text] The Novgorod City Soviet's ispolkom [executive committee] has conducted a public-opinion-study day. On the day before, about 10 telephones were designated via the local newspapers and radio, by which any Novgorod citizen could call on the appointed day, and express his or her opinion on the work of the ispolkom and its departments and services, and make suggestions for improving the functioning of these.

And then came the day of operation "hot line," as it was later "christened" by its organizers--V. Nimenskaya, ispolkom secretary, and S. Yakovleva, head of the instructor organization department. The telephone calls began early in the morning, and did not stop until late in the evening. More than 600 Novgorod citizens telephoned the ispolkom, and they expressed 1,011 suggestions, comments, desires, and questions.

Tell me, where and when is it possible to receive such a number of people in the course of a day? And not simply receive them, but hear them out and record their suggestions. This is one of the answers to the question as to why the "hot line" was necessary. It is no secret that the ispolkom's daily mail has no shortage of complaints and critical comments. And, nevertheless, the decision was made--to draw "fire upon ourselves."

The need to evaluate the state of affairs in the city's economy objectively and self-critically has always existed, and now, under the conditions of intensifying democracy and an increased openness, it has become even more important and timely. Consequently, it is necessary to study public opinion. And the more people express themselves, the more accurate the opinion is. The traditional forms of contact with the ispolkom, involving applications or other written correspondence, toward which, let us be frank, we do not always, certainly not all of us, have any enthusiasm, occasionally require substantial losses of time. The telephone is another matter: Having picked it up and dialed the number--there you are, and they are listening to you and making a record on the magnetic tape recorder.

In commenting on the incoming messages, Gorispolkom [City Executive Committee] Chairman A. Grigoryev stressed that this day provided an opportunity to sense the pulse of the city's life and the range of its inhabitants' concerns tangibly.

The Novgorod citizens gave an unflattering evaluation of preparing the housing assets for operation under winter conditions. It must be said frankly that their evaluation disagreed with the rosy picture that had been painted at the ispolkom's last meeting by the housing administration's management chiefs, who have learned to make reports efficiently, but who still do not know how to do their job just as efficiently, and, most importantly, to work with foresight, and not busy themselves with "patching holes." Many telephone calls concerned the housing problem and the principles of social justice in its resolution. The work of the services area worried the city's inhabitants, especially in view of the fact that Novgorod's enterprises switched to a two- and three-shift work schedule as of New Year's Day. They called regarding milk and bread quality, motion-picture theater repertoires, and the organizing of clubs for juveniles according to their interests....

All messages have been considered by ispolkom departments. Over 400 of them already have been resolved favorably. Six hundred have remained under investigation. The calls about the operation of trading enterprises have given cause for thought, not only to the gorispolkom's trade department, but to the chief architect's administration as well. It has been decided, for example, to begin construction this year of new grocery and vegetable stores in the western housing area, and a new point for receiving glass containers by the self-service method.

There was no area of the city's life that the Novgorod citizens failed to touch upon. However, another circumstance made the "hot line's" organizers, as well as all ispolkom members and the deputies, happy: There were no calls concerning trivia. The talk was about serious problems, and the criticism was substantiated and constructive. Those who called not only made specific suggestions, but also offered their services; in a word, city boosters called.

12319

CSO: 1830/384

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### TRADITIONAL INFLUENCES ON WOMEN IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Bushanbe ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT in Tajik on 4 September 1986 carries on page 11, under the rubric, "Welcome to the 12th Women's Congress of Tajikistan," a 1,000-word article, "The Agitation in Sparkling Eyes" ("Uztirobi chashmoni shahlo"), by Kh. Otakhonova. The article is subtitled, "Or Some Words on the Place of Women in Our Society." Otakhonova notes the important contribution Tajik literature can make to free women from religious superstitions. She also states that one of the best works for this purpose, Fazliddin Muhammadiyev's "In That World" (Dar on dun'yo) cannot be found in bookstores and that contemporary Tajik writers do not give enough attention to this issue.

There are now some women's gatherings, especially for mourning, that do not occur without the participation of mullahs and female religious figures. Religious propaganda takes place at such gatherings. Tajik literature ought to address this.

Otakhonova expresses concern about what becomes of girls who get a higher education. She tells the story of one young woman whom she first met when the young woman was a good university student and Komsomol member. Otakhonova met her again a few years after her graduation. The article derives from the sorrow and agitation Otakhonova saw on that occasion in the young woman's sparkling eyes. She had married after graduating and had a child. She no longer works. Her parents-in-law told her when she was a newlywed not to work, that the family did not need the money. The young woman disliked this but her mother and other relatives told her not to cause trouble in the family. Now that her child is 3 years old and could go to nursery school, the young woman could get a job. However some obstacle always arises. The young woman does housework all day long. Otakhonova says that millions of women have jobs and do the housework as well.

### BRIDE PRICE CRITICIZED IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT in Tajik on 4 September 1986 carries on page 12, under the rubric, "Debate: Can Bride Price Be Eliminated?", a 1,200-word article, "Fathers Without Compassion and Daughters in Love" ("Padaroni berahmu dukhtaroni oshiq") by N. Yodgori of Kulyabskaya Oblast. Preceding the text of the article is an introduction asking why the

bride price has not been eliminated. The article tells the story of a village girl whose life was ruined when she was prevented from marrying her beloved because he and his widowed mother could not pay the bride price. The girl's father did not need the money but was concerned that people would talk if he agreed to an amount lower than what was paid for other girls.

Yodgori writes that the bride price is also an obstacle to girls' advanced education. A majority of fathers oppose their daughters' continuing their education beyond middle school because the fathers "know well that educated girls have difficulty getting married." Therefore their fathers must accept a low bride price for them. Once in a rare while a village girl gets married without her father's consent. Yodgori says this really means that she refused to be sold for a bride price. This is considered rebelliousness on the girl's part. According to Yodgori, the total cost of a wedding, including the bride price and festivities, averages 10,000 rubles, which is far beyond the means of half the villagers.

An editorial afterword says that the problem described in this article is important not only in Kulyab Oblast but also in a majority of Tajikistan's rayons, Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, parts of Gorno-Badakhshan, and villages in Leninabad Oblast. The bride price is not only a "bad custom" and a "survival of ignorance" but is also inimical to enlightenment and culture. Readers are asked to mail in their suggestions for how to combat the bride price.

#### MEDICAL EDUCATION PROBLEMS IN TAJIKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe ADABIYOT VA SAN"AT in Tajik on 21 August 1986 carries on page 3, under the rubric, "General Public Discussion of the Plan of the CPSU Central Committee," an 800-word article, "Who Ought To Become a Doctor?" ("Ki boyad dukhtur shavad?") by Yu. Ishoqi, rector of Tajikistan's A. Sino Institute of Medicine and corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR. Ishoqi notes that the system graduates mediocre doctors. Some of the students admitted to Tajikistan's Institute of Medicine graduate from middle school with deficient fundamental knowledge and an inadequate world view. They cannot master the material taught in higher education. For example, in the current year more than half received a grade of 2 on a chemistry admissions examination. Admission to the institute is highly sought; every year there are four or more applicants for every opening. However, the quality of the applicants is not necessarily good. Poor students are admitted and eventually graduate but are not deeply motivated to be doctors. The institute feels obliged to give a degree to the vast majority of those admitted. Ishoqi considers this a misinterpretation of the plan but also says that it is unfair to dismiss someone from higher education without a diploma. Therefore, he proposes that students who are unqualified to meet the demands of a 4- or 5-year course at the institute be given a paramedic's ("fel'dsher") degree instead. Hospitals are well supplied with doctors, says Ishoqi, but lack paramedics.



## TAJIKISTAN PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajik on 16 August 1986 carries on page 2 a 900-word article, "University of the Millions" ("Universitet millionho"), by F. Buriyev, scientific secretary of the Tajikistan Council of People's Universities, and Q. Shukurov, editor of the republic's Znanie Society administration. The article describes the activities of people's universities in Tajikistan in the previous academic year.

There were 1,065 people's universities and 1,167 faculties and departments with a total of 178,670 students, of whom 51,000 are workers, 34,943 are kolkhoz members, and 67,000 are young people (up to age 29). The system had 9,350 teachers, 295 of whom have doctoral or candidate degrees; 101 belong to creative unions. The specialists of people's universities include Marxism-Leninism and raising workers' work and social activity (179 universities and 84 faculties with 23,065 students); Marxist-Leninist theory and the politics of the CPSU (16 universities); the nationalities policy of the CPSU and internationalist-patriotic training (54 universities); military patriotic training (52 universities and 23 faculties with 3,758 students); atheism (45 universities); economic theory, the CPSU's social and economic theory, moral training, and Soviet foreign policy (12 universities); law (46 universities and 24 faculties, located especially in various kinds of vocational schools); culture and popular culture (69 universities with more than 6,000 students); pedagogy (436 universities and 845 faculties with 109,000 students); and technological progress, advanced production methods in industry and agriculture, commerce, and services, as well as issues in administration (100 universities with 11,447 students).

/9599

CSO: 1830/421

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### TaSSR: INCREASING LABOR SUPPLY REQUIRES CREATION OF NEW JOBS

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNISTI TOJIKISTON in Tajik No 10, 1986 (October) carries on pages 70-75, under the rubric "For Students of the Political and Economic Instruction System," a 900-word article, "The 12th 5-Year Plan--The 5-Year Plan That Makes a Big Difference in the Social and Economic Development of the Country" ("Panjsolai duvozdahum--panjsolai digargunii qat"i dar taraqqiyoti sotsialiyu iqtisodii mamlakat"), by N. Qayumov, a doctor of economics.

A problem that requires solution is the wise use of Tajikistan's growing labor supply. Among the Soviet republics Tajikistan has the highest rate of natural increase of the population; the rate is 3.7 times greater than the all-Union average. In the next few years the republic's population will reach 6.8 million. If one discounts out-migration, the population might reach 7.1 million. In the same period the number of people capable of working will grow by a factor of more than 1.5.

In order for the proportion of the population doing household work to decrease from 25.9 percent to 18.4 percent, 950,000 new jobs must become available. This requires that new factories continue to be located in small- and medium-sized cities. These factories should be above all in machine construction and light industry, fields which are labor intensive. Other necessary measures are: establishing technologically up-to-date branches [of industry] in villages; raising the "shift coefficient"; and rapidly developing the social and fruit-and-vegetable infrastructures.

In the coming years the industrial sector can be provided with a 21 percent larger labor pool; for other production and non-production sectors (other than agro-industry) the figure is 42 percent. In agro-industry the only area where the labor force can grow substantially is in fruits and vegetables. This area can be a major contributor to the republic's economic development. The means are unavailable to increase the amount of land for cultivating other crops, including cotton and animal feed, as well as for pastures. In agriculture, apart from the fruits and vegetables area, production is being increased through intensification.

/9599

CSO: 1834/402

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### STRICT ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION OF LAKE BAYKAL URGED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by Oleg Usev under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Sacred Baykal"]

[Text] Do you know what is most touching in the mail from our readers about Baykal? Concern for the lake that is like the concern for a human being. People write who live not far from the lake and also those who live, as the saying goes, at the very ends of the earth. But I understand all of them in my heart. I myself have been living at Baykal for a long time, ever since my student years. I worked in the Barguzinsk preserve. I went around the lake on foot--more than 2,000 kilometers in all. In what way is Baykal dear to us?

Baykal is a symbol of beauty and eternity. It is an inalienable part of our national consciousness. It is not without reason that the lake is called sacred. Incidentally, the word "sacred" did not appear in an old poem "Thoughts of a Fugitive on Baykal" by the Siberian poet D. Davydov. It was born later, when the verses were made into a song. People's love gave a sense of inspiration. It is sacred, because our ancestors perceived Baykal as some mighty being endowed with reason.

By force of circumstances Baykal became the main arena of the struggle for the protection of nature. The epic of Baykal has clearly shown that the strategy of thoughtless mastery of nature gives rise to questionable and impractical campaigns, because they lack one important condition--a sound scientific basis.

Some people think that it all started with the construction of the cellulose combine. But not many know about the so-called "Angara cut." In 1958 a collective of metropolitan water project engineers under the supervision of Chief Engineer N. Grigorovich worked on a project for "The comprehensive utilization of Baykal." The project planned to make the channel of the Angara River deeper with the help of an explosion in order to increase the supply of water to low-lying hydro-electric power stations. At first it was planned to lower Baykal's level by 3 to 5 meters and afterwards, in the course of the next decade, to increase it and again decrease it with a 6-meter variation range.

This was tantamount to a death sentence for Baykal. Later disputes around the cellulose combine overshadowed the project on the "broad regulation of power output of all hydroelectric power stations of Siberia." But this event became the countdown point in the struggle over the destiny of the "famous sea."

"Is there any great benefit from our opinions and newspaper discussions?" the readers write. "In spite of the clamor that was raised, the Baykal and Selenginsk combines were built nonetheless. It is tidy on paper, but the power saws are felling the Baykal forest. The chimneys are emitting smoke. A large amount of epishure crayfish will perish--the main biofilter of the Baykal water."

It is now 10 years that I have headed the Baykal Committee of the All-Russian Society for the Conservation of Nature. And, of course, I have seen with my own eyes the black smoke over the Baykal and rivers crammed with logs and poisonous patches on the water... True, we have been unable to protect the lake from all of this, but the struggle has not been foolish. It is only owing to the general public that dynamite was not placed under the famous Shaman-Kamen (Shaman Rock) in the mouth of the Angara and that the project of the deep Angara cut ingloriously sank into oblivion.

Projects for the economic development of the Baykal did not arise out of malicious intent, but because of ecological illiteracy. The combine builders, as is known, had their own logic: supersonic aviation needed a supercord, and its production requires a superclean cord cellulose, and such a cellulose requires the superpure Baykal water. Scientists warned that industrial wastes could destroy the unique waters. Besides, the economic effect of the production was highly questionable.

Today, after many years have passed, it can be said with complete justification that the forecasts of the scientists and the warnings of writers and the public proved to be correct. The Baykal cord for high-speed aviation did not work out. It is nowhere near as good as synthetic fiber, and cellulose is only good for the production of staple and conventional tires. And super-pure water is absolutely not needed for this. But the combine succeeded in disfiguring several kilometers of beautiful Baykal lakeshore and in polluting dozens of square kilometers of water area. No less a danger also threatens the air basin. The processing of new quarries and plant smoke are having a destructive effect on Baykal's natural surroundings. The area of weakened and drying out forests that are suffering from gaseous dust wastes has already reached a half million hectares.

National alarm over the fate of the lake served as an impetus to a number of governmental decisions aimed at the preservation of the lake's basin. Enormous sums were expended on purification facilities; waste standards were made tougher, and technology for industrial waste purification was improved. The forest industry dropped the exhaustive method of tree felling. Driving timber down the streams of Baykal rivers was stopped, and their channels are being cleared. Several fish hatcheries have been built on the banks of the lake at the mouths of fish-spawning rivers.

On the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee directed the preparation of basic proposals concerning Baykal. A commission created for this purpose considered "comprehensive measures for the protection of the lake," and it also worked up the question of "the overproliferation" of the Baykal



cellulose combine. The USSR Gosplan was instructed to prepare a new resolution on the Baykal. The RSFSR Council of Ministers committed the Institute of City Planning (Giprogor) to draw up a "Territorial Comprehensive Plan for the Protection of Nature in the Baykal Lake Basin" (TerSKOP). Three resolutions were adopted by the RSFSR Council of Ministers on the establishment of two national parks and one new preserve in the Transbaykal.

What kind of future tasks are there for Baykal's protection? What has to be done so that all of the starts of 1986 are completed in the shortest time, to the maximum extent and thoroughly?

It is our deep conviction that one of the most important tasks in the protection of Baykal is the completion of the formation of a network of natural areas and facilities on its shores: preserves, controlled areas, natural monuments and a national park.

Let us take a look at the shore. Only 50 kilometers of shoreline fall under the protection of the Barguzinsk preserve, but the Baykal preserve does not even come up to the lake--it is cut off by a railroad and a superhighway. Of 2,500 kilometers of shore, only 2 percent comes under protection! An insignificantly small part! Scientists think that 15 times more has to be placed in the preserve to protect the natural surroundings.

The lake exerts a great influence on its shoreline area, but at the same time it also depends on it. For example, it is in many ways obligated to the taiga forests for the unique properties of its waters. The protected natural areas and, first and foremost, the preserve and national park are called on to conserve the landscape area surrounding Baykal, on which the fate of the lake depends.

In a word, Baykal needs a single network of protected territories, and there is none. Only two preserves are working reliably--the Baykal and the Barguzinsk preserves. The Baykalo-Lenskiy and two national parks--western Baykal and eastern Baykal--are still in the formation stage. Many controlled areas and natural monuments exist formally, like some inhabitants of the Red Book [listing of protected plants and animals]: they are placed on the list, but are soon forgotten.

The protected territories of Baykal are attached to different administrative "sectors"; they fall under many departments, and they do not have an overall single manager. As a result, their very creation encounters serious and sometimes insurmountable obstacles.

Why did they refuse in the Baykalo-Lenskiy preserve to include a very valuable sector of the shore from the Cape of Elokhin to the Kotelnikovskiy Cape? It is precisely this territory, located closer to the BAM zone, which needs immediate protection. And the answer is simple: the preserve was to have been placed within the boundaries of two administrative regions--the Irkutsk Oblast and the Buryat ASSR. It is this that became a huge barrier.

We have been reading articles in the newspapers about the Baykal national park for the past 30 years. Nobody ever doubted that Baykal should be one, single national park, and that it was to be called "Baykal." However, during park planning, local tendencies again proved a stronger than common sense.

One of the noblest and most productive nature conservation ideas found its embodiment in the national park. We risk turning out to be a bankrupt generation of nature conservationists if we do not succeed in saving the precious nature of the national parks.

Nature knows neither state nor administrative borders. Baykal and its surroundings serve as a single ecological system. It lives according to its own laws, which no one is free to abolish. We do not know how the problem of the administrative unity of Baykal will be resolved. But we are convinced that it is necessary right now and in the near future to create an integral system of protected nature territories that is capable of defending Baykal.

Such is the behest of the times.

Baykal is huge, but is extremely vulnerable. The beautiful world of its nature is not a training ground for testing purification facilities, and it is not a place for implementing hair-brained schemes. Baykal should become an invincible barrier to ecologically wanton experiments.

Baykal presented us many many lessons, and the most important one is moral. The job of protecting nature is complex, contradictory and at times involved. It is difficult to anticipate everything. But there is a firm foundation for success--public monitoring, openness and a democratic outlook.

Baykal moved something in our ecological consciousness. Who knows except but, for its bitter lessons, the northern rivers could have recovered. And the squabbles around the Rzhensk Hydroelectric Plant? We have forced even the most "aggressive" technocrats to live circumspectly with public opinion.

The latest news is that the Baykal paper and pulp combine has stopped the discharge of feed yeast. Consequently, the harmful effect on the lake will decrease noticeably. All of this heartens me and my readers, but it also tells us not to lose our vigilance. After all, the aforementioned decision, for example, was made a year ago. But many months were required before the words were turned into deeds. Resolution of the question of removing many enterprises from the Baykal area is going extremely slowly.

Or, here in front of me is a letter from S. Ustinov from Irkutsk: "Literally in one day recently, an earth-moving contrivance destroyed Tonkiy Cape--several thousand tons of gravel and sand were loaded on barges" This occurred on the territory of the Transbaykal National Park. Here again we have the old malady, which has already caused a lot of loss to the lake: narrow departmental considerations, bureaucratism and a desire to evade national decisions.

I would like to address not only the specialists and party and soviet organs whose work is in one way or another associated with Baykal, but also a broad circle of readers: we will not lose sight of the events at Baykal. We are counting very much on your vigorous stand, dear reader. We will be interested in everything: specific proposals, alarm signals, public verification on the spot and reorganizational results. We are firmly confident that only an atmosphere of all-round concern over the fate of the lake will help this vast and comprehensive program for Baykal which the party and the government have laid down. The time has come for action. There is no time to lose.

13052

CSO: 1800/385

- END -

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

July 24, 1987